THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXX *October 1946* NUMBER 4

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXX *October 1946* NUMBER 4

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QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXX OCTOBER 1946 NUMBER 4

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

CONTENTS

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry . . GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE 197

Sir William Johnson's Indian Testimonial . . . R. W. G. VAIL 208

American Presentation Silver . . . . H. MAXSON HOLLOWAY 215

Footnote to the Revolution: The Tribulations of William Gilliland . . . . . ELIZABETH MARTING 234

Book Reviews and Notices:

Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760* . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 254

Taylor, *Men and Power* . . . . . GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE 255

Warner, *Songs of the Hudson Valley* . . . R. W. G. VAIL 257

Lawson, *The Discovery of Florida* . . . CHARLES E. BAKER 258

Activities of the Society 260

A Christmas Gift Suggestion from the Editor 260

Recent Accessions 261

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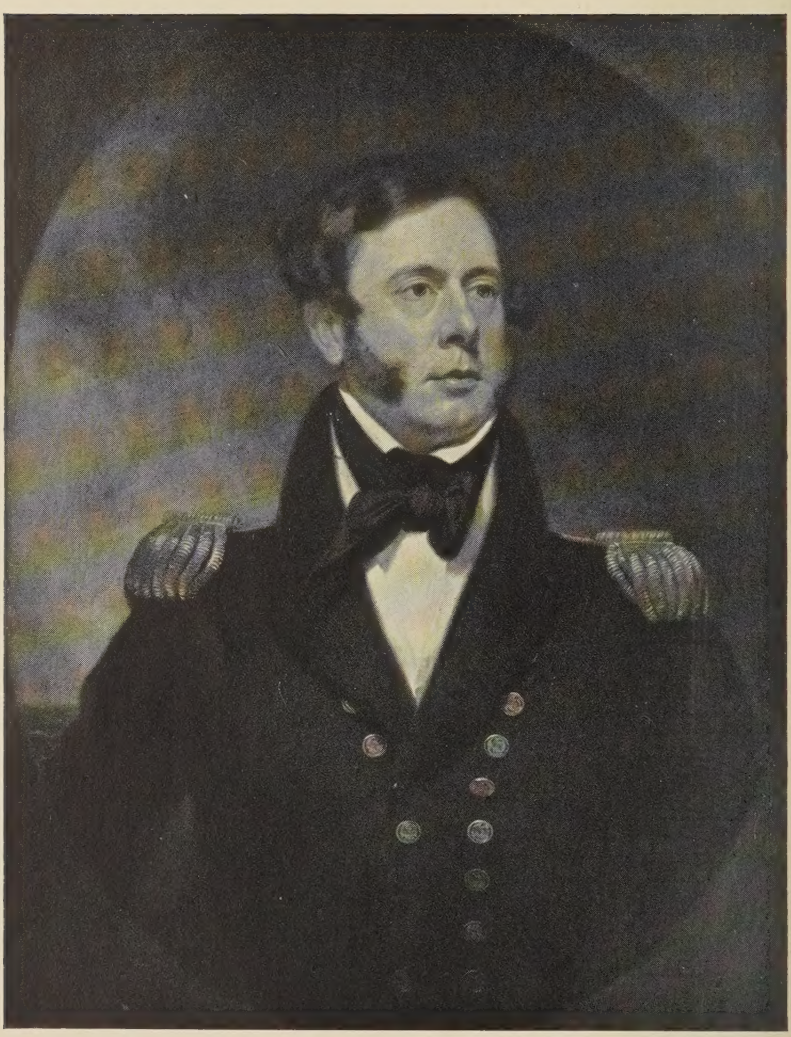

Photo, courtesy M. Knoedler & Co.

COMMODORE MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY (1794–1858)

Portrait by William S. Mount, 1834

Owned by the U. S. Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis

THE NEW-YORK
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QUARTERLY
October 1946
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Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry

by George A. Zabriskie

THIS Society is presently featuring an exhibition of memorial silver—probably the most comprehensive ever assembled—and, because of its timely interest, a story of the Perry silver, with maybe a little more about the Commodore himself, will not be amiss. Here it is.

In 1936 the Hon. Perry Belmont very generously gave us a large silver dinner service which was presented to his grandfather Matthew Calbraith Perry on December 28, 1855, by the Chamber of Commerce and merchants of New York in acknowledgment of his having successfully negotiated a treaty with Japan in 1854. The service numbers 381 items and includes soup tureens, gravy boats, coffee and tea pots, everything you can think of. The set was made by William Gale and Son of New York, and with it Mr. Belmont gave us the original letter, signed by the members of the merchants' committee, presenting this silver to Commodore Perry:

New York Dec. 28th 1855

Dear Sir,

In behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, and Merchants of New York, we beg your acceptance of the service of plate which accompanies this, as a testimonial, of the sense which they entertain, of the important service which you have rendered to your Country, & the world; by your able and successful negociation of the Treaty with Japan.

To have brought this secluded Empire, into the intercourse of nations; is an achievement which may justly be ranked, among the great events of the age; reflecting honor upon our Country, the more so, as it has been accomplished, not by bloodshed, and the devastations of war; but by means of a frank, energetic, and determined, course of negociation.

It may require time, to regulate satisfactorily, the terms, & mode, of our future intercourse with Japan; and still more time, to develope fully, the commercial resources of that Empire. But the great object is accomplished. Japan, once open, to the western nations; will not be permitted by these nations, to return to her former Exclusive policy; and located between the two great Continents, that Empire will hold a most important place in the future extending commerce of the world.

The Spirit of Enterprise, which we witness in our day, is but the beginning, of the great onward movements, which aided, & impelled, by the advancing improvements in Science, & the Arts; are destined materially to change the condition of the human family.

When this Continent becomes densely peopled by the United American race; & China, & Japan, with their teeming millions, become renovated by the lights of Christianity, and true Science; the State of Commerce, & international intercourse, will be such, as we can now but faintly imagine. With these great results your name will be associated.

The Merchants of New York have ever felt a just pride, in the Navy of the United States; & in tendering to you this merited tribute of respect, they wish to express their admiration, of the exploits of that arm of national strength, so ably represented by you; and their great esteem for the many distinguished officers who have contributed to its high reputation.

With great respect

Your very ob. Servants

[Signed:] P. Perit
M. H. Grinnell
Thomas Tileston
William B. Astor
George Curtis
John J. Palmer
John L. Aspinwall
Geo. W. Blunt
Committee

To

Commodore Matthew C. Perry U.S.N.
New York

SALVER OF THE PERRY DINNER SERVICE

Made by William Gale & Son, New York City

"Presented by the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants of New York to Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, in acknowledgment of the signal services which he has rendered to America and to the world, by his able and successful negotiation of the Treaty with Japan."

Gift of Hon. Perry Belmont, 1936

When the Chamber of Commerce took notice of this gift, their Executive Vice President kindly presented us with Commodore Perry's reply so that the record would be complete and for which we were, and are, very appreciative:

New York December 31st 1855

Gentlemen

Your communication of the 28th inst. has been received, and with every feeling of grateful acknowledgement, I beg to tender my profound thanks, for the very high honor thus conferred upon me, an honor rendered the more distinguished as coming from a source which imparts additional value to the munificent gift, so flatteringly bestowed.

To be noticed in this manner by the chamber of commerce, and merchants of New York, will naturally create renewed incentives to professional zeal. The military and civil marine of our country are so closely allied by a common honor, and a common interest, the one branch being incomplete without the other, that these acts of generous liberality of the merchants, cannot but tend to foster a mutual confidence and respect.

You truly remark that the treaty with Japan is an event which must ultimately lead to momentous results; a mere beginning it is true, in the great work of bringing a mighty empire into the family of nations, and within the influences of our benign religion, yet tending to consequences that no one can at present foretell.

The treaty with its notes of explanation I had supposed could not be misconstrued. It is not a "*commercial treaty*"; but one of amity and partial intercourse for trade; and this was all that it was possible to obtain at first. Precisely such a compact as ours has been thought worthy of imitation, by three of the great powers of Europe, and it should be recollected that its ninth article, contains a stipulation granting to the United States, "without any consultation or delay," whatever superior priviledges or advantages may at any future time be conceeded, "to any other nation or nations."

When the treaty was forwarded by me to our government, to be submitted by the President, if he saw fit, to the Senate for ratification, notes accompanied it, explanatory of my motives and actions; on article 9th I wrote as follows:

"This is a most important article, as there can be little doubt that, on hearing of the success of this mission, the English, French and Russians will follow our example; and it may be reasonable to suppose that each will gain some additional advantage until a commercial treaty is accomplished: article 9 will give to Americans, without further consultation, all these advantages."

The result has proved the correctness of my anticipations as to other powers. England and Russia have both followed our example. The compact of England, as one of her officers states "says nothing about commerce," while that of Russia copies ours exactly, with the single alteration, of the substitution of the port of Nagasaki for that of Napha in Lew Chew. France was seeking to make a similar compact, and I presume, has ere this, succeeded.

No person on earth could by mere friendly negotiation, have induced Japan at the time, to make a general treaty of commerce, with any nation, ignorant as its government and people were of the laws which govern international commercial relations.

And now gentlemen let me again thank you for this manifestation of your kind consideration; the testimonial which you have presented from yourselves and associates, shall be treasured in my family with sacred care, and I trust that those to whom it may descend, will always preserve a grateful remembrance of the names of those who have in this way contributed so largely to their parents pride and gratification.

With great respect

I am gentlemen,

Your obliged and most Ob't Serv't

M. C. Perry

That is the story of the silver. And now the promised little bit of history concerning Commodore Perry and his visits to Japan in 1853 and 1854.

Matthew Calbraith Perry ("Old Matt," they called him) was the younger brother of Oliver Hazard Perry of Battle-of-Lake-Erie "we-have-met-the-enemy-and-they-are-ours" fame and had quite a navy career in his own right. The first steam warship, the *Fulton*, was built under his supervision, and when she was launched in 1814 he took command and so thoroughly demonstrated her practicability he earned the title of "Father of the Steam Navy." Two years later he was ordered abroad to study the latest in French and English steam warships. In 1847, during the Mexican War, Commodore Perry commanded the largest fleet of American warships ever assembled up to that time, and when in 1852 he was selected by President Fillmore to go to Japan with his squadron for the purpose of inducing that country to enter into relations with us, his flagship, the *Mississippi*, was the first United States steam war vessel to circumnavigate the globe.

There are a number of books which tell the history of the Perry expedition to Japan and the official narrative, compiled from the original notes and journals of Commodore Perry and his officers "at his request and under his supervision" by Rev. Francis L. Hawks, is a profound, authentic and voluminous report. Whether the average reader would take the time to go into it thoroughly, is something else again, but there are a few things, maybe not all so important as interesting, that it won't do any harm to reveal. For instance, the Commodore asked for, and thought he had, all the notes of his expedition made by his officers, but he didn't get those of Edward Yorke McCauley, a young man who probably didn't attach any importance to his diary, which really contains a fund of information not found elsewhere and is now one of our prized possessions. This diary remained in the McCauley family until 1914, when Miss Macawley [after

Edward Yorke became an admiral he changed the way of spelling his name] gave it to the Naval History Society, whence it came to us with the rest of their collection. It is described in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (December, 1895) by Persifor Frazer, who says the illustrations are far superior to those in the official Hawks narrative, and the edition of the diary recently published at Princeton reproduces only a few of them; some of the best have never been reproduced. McCauley got to go along with Perry to the parleys, etc., because Perry made McCauley's ship, the *Powhatan*, his flagship while in Japanese waters although the *Mississippi* was the flagship both going and coming.

The first stop *en route* was Funchal, Madeira, and (to digress a little) a friendly letter from Perry to Frederick De Peyster, then the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of this Society, announces the purchase of "one quarter cask and three half-quarter casks of very superior Madeira wine at a price highly advantageous"—namely $137.50—for De Peyster, and Perry added that he was taking the wine aboard the *Macedonian*, which he then commanded, to bring it to De Peyster in New York. This interesting letter—not the wine—is in our collection too.

Now, to resume our way to Japan, with Commodore Perry bearing a letter from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Japan in which the principal request related to the proper care of shipwrecked American sailors. This really was the fourth expedition made by Americans to Japan: the first was in 1837, undertaken by an American merchant named C. W. King who tried to return some Japanese whose junk had been blown off her course and after drifting about the Pacific for some time finally went ashore near the mouth of the Columbia River. Mr. King's merchantman, the *Morrison*, was, of course, unarmed and his errand one of mercy, yet he no sooner reached the bay of Yedo (Tokyo) than he was fired upon and forced to retire. The next visit, in 1846, was frankly an attempt to open negotiations for trading purposes and nothing came of it, the

Japs saying they didn't want to do any business with us. Then, in 1849, the U.S.S. *Preble*, Commander Glynn, part of a squadron in the China seas, was dispatched to demand the release of sixteen American seamen who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Japan nearly a year and a half earlier, been kept in jail since, and treated with great cruelty and inhumanity. The Japs tried to lie out of that, but as Commander Glynn with the rough bluntness of a sailor told them a thing or two, they gave up the men, and this was the incident that brought about the determination of our Government to open Japan to the trade of the world.

The right man to send was all-important: we wanted that country open and we wanted to keep it friendly, so we selected "Old Matt," who was known for his sense of fair play and could be depended upon to give a good account of himself in a crisis. The Secretary of State wrote him, "Make no use of force, except in the last resort for defense, if attacked, and self preservation": that was all and it was enough. Perry was the right man and, like MacArthur now, he wasn't for sharing his duties or his obligations with Russia or any other power.

The origin of the Japs has never been established: we cannot subscribe to Admiral Halsey's theory since he let us down in the matter of riding the Emperor's white horse, but in spite of their recognized ingenuity and the progress they showed in many of the arts and crafts, no one could charge them, at the time of Perry's visit, with a very high degree of civilization, and the less said of their morals the better. Their laws were excessive in their severity, it is true—probably the bloodiest code in the world, the Commodore said, with death the prescribed punishment for most offences, on the theory that a man who will violate one law will violate any other and that when he cannot be trusted in society he is unworthy to live. That didn't mean it wasn't all right to have fifty wives if you could afford it or that there was anything wrong in swapping wives—perish the thought! And if a Jap told the truth, it was an accident and he shouldn't be blamed.

Commodore Perry had his own troubles. Determined to enter the bay of Yedo (now called Tokyo) he found that the Chinese and Dutch, the only other foreigners ever allowed there, had to submit to degrading conditions—surrounded by the perpetual presence of Japanese guard boats, practically under arrest, so to speak. This Perry refused to submit to, and this was lesson number one to the Japs—that they had to change their laws in conformity with those of civilized nations. Next thing, our Commodore, referred to by the Japs as the Admiral, declined to confer with anyone except a dignitary of the highest rank in the Empire and strove to obtain "a reception in every respect honorable to himself and the country which he represented." This was accomplished during Perry's first visit—a matter of eight days, during which he also surveyed the bay of Yedo in spite of the protests of the authorities and under the very guns of their batteries. It meant one thing: that even if every other power was afraid, the United States was determined at all hazards to gain protection for American citizens who might be at the mercy of Japan and at the same time to cultivate, if possible, a feeling of good will and a mutual desire for trade and commerce.

This was what we might call the result of Perry's first visit to Japan: it started the ball rolling. Commodore Perry then sailed —July 25th—for Lew Chew, that little group of islands to the south (Okinawa, etc.), where, after temporizing with a thousand crooked arguments for not giving a direct answer to a direct demand, he arranged for a coaling station and a building for accommodation of the sick. This was the first business deal those islanders ever had with a foreigner, and they gave the impression that they would rejoice to get relief from Japanese despotism. This feeling would probably have been shown more clearly had it not been for the system of spies who were ever on the alert to notice and report every event that transpired and to make those who manifested any friendship towards Americans accountable at some future time.

PRINCE'S BARGE AT TREATY CONFERENCE, 1854

". . . we saluted, from our boats, the Japanese Royal ensign with 21 coups de Howitzer, and Commo. P. with 17 as U. S. Commissioner. . . ."

—Edward Yorke McCauley's manuscript journal
Naval History Collection, The New-York Historical Society

With the coming of February the Commodore sent his sailing ships ahead and followed a week later with the steamships so that all would reach Yedo Bay about the same time. This was according to plan, but before they left the Commodore was advised that the Japanese Emperor had died and that certain ceremonies of mourning and arrangements for succession to the throne made it necessary to postpone all consideration of the President's letter for the present. Perry was disposed at first to suspect this, as nothing had been said about any illness of the Emperor during his first visit only a short time before, but granting it was so (which was the fact), there seemed to be no reason for the delay in public business. There was only one thing on the Commodore's mind: his mission was to demand explanations of the Japanese Government respecting its treatment of American citizens who

had been accidentally thrown upon its shores and to make declaration that the United States Government would no longer tolerate such acts; to endeavor to obtain the opening of at least one or more Japanese ports to American vessels and to negotiate, if possible, a treaty with the Empire upon a basis just and equitable, and if a general treaty could not be made, to make the best that was attainable for trade.

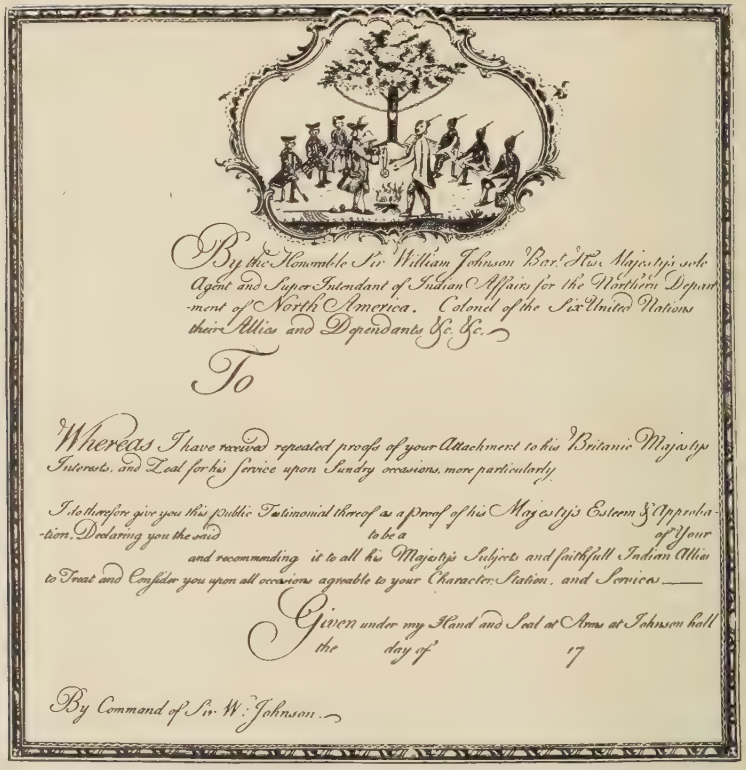
Now, no statement could be simpler, clearer, or more understandable; there were probably none of the Japanese commissioners who could not have read without the least difficulty the document presented by the Commodore, and certainly their interpreters could have read it off into Japanese at once. Yet the Japs dilly-dallied, using one excuse after another to avoid answering, and had not Commodore Perry exercised all the patience of Job there is no telling how the wished-for treaty would have fared with the lying, dilatory, procrastinating methods of the Japs. However, on the 31st of March, 1854, the treaty was ready and agreed to, signed by Matthew Calbraith Perry as special ambassador of the United States to Japan and by the commissioners who were given similar power by the august sovereign of Japan.

There were twelve articles to the treaty—the first said: "There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other, and between their people, respectively, without exception of persons or places." Other articles took care of shipwrecked sailors; goods to be traded in; exchange of gold and silver coin; provision of necessary wood, water, coal, etc., for vessels touching at Jap ports; and—most important of all—a most-favored-nation clause providing that, if at any future day the Japs granted other nations privileges not mentioned, the same privileges were to be granted to the United States.

Taking everything by and large, the expedition of Commodore Perry, during which he secured proper recognition of the

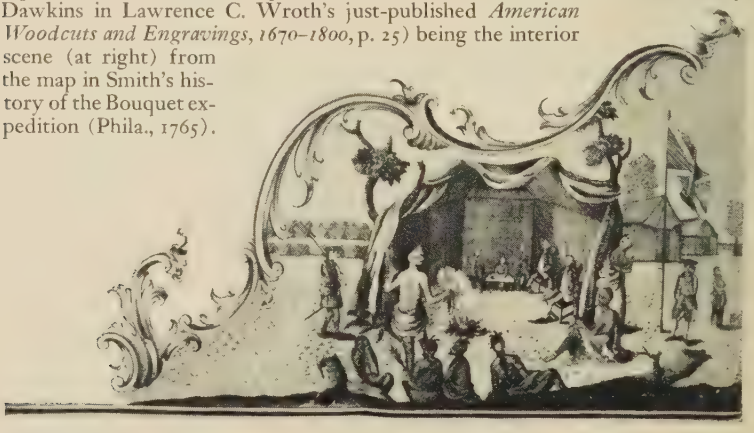
rights of our people and the opening of Japan for purposes of trade and commerce, was one of the great achievements of naval history. Furthermore, nobody should have been more appreciative than the Japs themselves: it raised them from a small inconsequential people to a great nation. But they couldn't let well enough alone. After World War I, in which they did practically nothing, a number of small islands in the Pacific belonging to Germany were mandated to them upon the understanding and promise that they were not to be fortified or militarized, but they couldn't keep a promise or play the game. In 1895 they took Formosa from the Chinese; after World War I they broke from the League of Nations and took Manchuria; next they got the notion, "Asia for the Asiatics," which meant of course Asia for the Japs, and then started war with China.

Well, the bigger they are the harder they fall. Japan is no longer a great nation: in the war just concluded she elected to go with Hitler and Germany—birds of a feather flock together—with the result that 44 of her 206 cities were wiped out by air bombings, 10,000,000 of her citizens were killed, injured or made homeless, 2,500,000 of her buildings were destroyed and Tokyo, which once had a population of 6,500,000, now has 2,500,000. All Matt Perry's teaching went for naught—maybe MacArthur's will set them straight.


By the Honorable Sir William Johnson Bar.t His Majesty's sole
Agent and Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern Depart-
-ment of North America. Colonel of the Six United Nations
their Allies and Dependants &c. &c.
To
Whereas I have received repeated proofs of your Attachment to his Britanic Majesty
Interests, and Zeal for his service upon Sundry occasions, more particularly
I do therefore give you this public Testimonial thereof as a proof of his Majesty's Esteem & Approba-
-tion, Declaring you the said to be a of Your
and recommending it to all his Majesty's Subjects and faithfull Indian Allies
to Treat and Consider you upon all occasions agreable to your Character Station, and Services
Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Johnson hall
the day of 17
By Command of Sir W.m Johnson

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S INDIAN TESTIMONIAL

From the copperplate engraved by Henry Dawkins, 1770. This is the second representation of an Indian peace council, the first (now also identified as by Dawkins in Lawrence C. Wroth's just-published *American Woodcuts and Engravings, 1670–1800*, p. 25) being the interior scene (at right) from the map in Smith's history of the Bouquet expedition (Phila., 1765).



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S INDIAN TESTIMONIAL

by R. W. G. Vail

FOR many years previous to the Revolution, the most important personage on the New York frontier was Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. From Johnson Hall on the Mohawk he kept the powerful Iroquois at peace with the English through fair dealings and the generous distribution of presents at the frequent Indian councils. The most prized gifts were the silver gorgets and medals which he gave to the more influential chiefs, at the same time designating them as Medal Chiefs or Gorget Captains.

In order to add to the solemnity of the ceremony, he prepared a certificate or testimonial to accompany each medal, in which the achievements of the chief were set forth and the document duly signed by Sir William. Among the Sir William Johnson papers in the New York State Library there are still preserved, though badly damaged by the fire of 1911, the original letters regarding the engraving of this testimonial.* On March 22, 1770, Sir William sent the following letter to Thomas Wharton of Philadelphia, a Quaker merchant who specialized in supplying goods for the Indian trade:

Johnson hall, March 22d. 1770

[ ]

Having occasion for some Blank Testimonials to give [to the chie]fs of the Indians, I have used the freedom with you [of sending] the enclosed form, and drawing requesting that you will [employ a] good Artist to Engrave the same, and also to Engrave [the] emblematical figures at the Top of the Testimonial, and as [they will] take up too much room if of

* These letters are to be found in The Sir William Johnson Manuscripts in the New York State Library, vol. 18, p. 247, 264; vol. 19, p. 26, 62. They are printed in *The Sir William Johnson Papers*, edited by the State Historian, Albany, 1931, vol. 7, pp. 494–5, 521–2, 590–2, 658–9, and are here reprinted through the courtesy of the State Library and the State Historian's Office.

the size in the inclosed [will you] please to direct the Engraver to draw it a Little shorter, [and to] correct the shape, features &c of the personages or things in the best manner he can, the Gentleman whose drawing it [is no]t having Sufficient Skill in these matters. The blanks in [the] Testimonial may be the same as in the inclosed, and the [spa]ce at the Top larger than I have left it tho' Smaller than the [dr]awing, the Edges of which he can Embellish as he pleases [.] When it is Engraved I would have Two hundred Copies of it [mad]e on parchment, which with the Copper plate you will please [to] forward to me with the Expence attending it which I shall pay [imme]diately and shall be much obliged to you if it is convenient for [you] to get this necessary Affair executed for me.

I have orders to ratify the Fort Stanwix Treaty [*of September, 1768, and it was probably for this ceremony that he needed the testimonials*] in his Majesty's Name, [ ] that the Traders Grant and Mr. Croghans, are still [subject] to farther Consideration, however I am in hopes that they [mus]t meet with Approbation to obtain which I have wrote [ ] about it. I wrote your Brother sometime ago but [having heard] nothing from him for a Considerable time, I heartily [trust that he] may find his Affair has had an [favorable outcome]

[I am with] much esteem
Sir,

In reply to Sir William's letter, Thomas Wharton wrote as follows:

Philade. April 3d. 1770

Thy two favors of the 22 & 23d Ulto. I received [not long] since, and agreeable thereto, I have Ordered [the] plate to be Engraved by One Dawkins who is [considered] our best Artist; He Assures Me He will Use [his ut]most Endeavors to compleat it, in a Manner [which] shall be satisfactory to thee; as soon as the plate [is fini]shed, I will have the Testimonials Printed. I [will] have the whole Compleated in two or three Weeks. [I s]hall send them in a Box to New York by stage [an]d to the Care of My friend John Alsop whom I [shall] request to forward it to thee by a Proper Conveyance. [*Two final paragraphs on other matters not copied*]

I remain with [ ]
thy real [ ]

To
Sir William Johnson

When the work was completed, Thomas Wharton wrote again to Sir William as follows:

[Philada. April 26, 1770]

[ ]

[ ] on the Inst. to Acknowledge [ ] when by a very close Attendance on [ ] day by day I got the Plate Compleated [ ] agreeable to thy request. I could have wished [ ] have been better, but its the very best I could obtain in the [I have] packed the 200 Testimonials with the Plate in a Box directed [to] this day sent them by Stage to New York, to the Care of My [ ] John Alsop to whom have wrote that they may be for[warded] to thee by first safe Opportunity;— the cost of Copperplate [ ] Workmanship & Box Amount to £14.1.0 as by the account Enclosed, with Each particular Persons Accounts & Receipts, for which have debited thee in Account with my Bror. Isaac & Self. I sincerely wish they may Answer thy Expectation, having done the best in my power to obtain that End. [*Two final paragraphs on other matters not copied*]

I remain with [ ]

[ ]

William Johnson Esqr

[*Enclosure:*] To Thomas & Isaac Wharton

For the following articles Obtained at his request viz

1770			
April 20th.	To Cash paid Henry Dawkins by his Acco[t] & Receipt for Engraving a Copper Plate, for the Impressing of Testimonials to be given the Indians	£5..	[ ]
25th.	Paid David Hall by D[o] for 25 sheets of Parchment	5..	[ ]
25th.	Paid James Nevill for Printing 200 Testimonials from the foregoing Plate on parchment @ 4d. pr. & Box 2/	3	[8.8]
	Freight to New York		[ ]
		£14	[1.0]

[*Addressed:*] For Sir William Johnson Baronet at Johnson Hall

On receipt of the shipment, Sir William wrote to Thomas Wharton as follows:

Johnson-hall May 11th 1770.

[S]ir

I have received your 2 Letters the Last with the Testimonials, the Execution of which I am well pleased with & I now enclose your bill on Mr Mortier for the Ammount, giving you many thanks for the Trouble you have taken upon that occasion. [*Two final paragraphs on other matters not copied*]

Mr. Thos. Wharton

[*Endorsed:*] To Mr. Thos. Wharton with a Draft on Mr. Mortier

We may assume that Sir William Johnson made good use of these testimonials from this time until his death in 1774 and that his successor in office continued their use until the Johnson family fled with the other British sympathizers to Canada at the outbreak of the Revolution. No original impression on parchment, filled out and signed, is now known though there may be treasured copies among the Canadian Iroquois. It is probable that many of them were buried, Indian fashion, with the chiefs to whom they were issued. One copy, still blank, was with the Sir William Johnson papers in the State Library before the fire of 1911 but it cannot now be found and was doubtless burned.

The original copperplate engraved by Dawkins was apparently left behind when the Johnsons fled to Canada. We do not hear from it again until it was sold for old metal at Troy in 1820, saved by a local bookseller and presented to this Society the following year. Its story is continued in our official minutes for November 13, 1821, as follows:

> Mr. Pintard, in behalf of Wm. S. Parker of Troy presented the original plate on which were engraved the Commissions given by Sir Wm. Johnson to the Indians, accompanied with the following memorandum.
>
> "This plate was brought to a Copper Smiths' Shop in Troy, N. York, in the month of Decr. 1820 and bought as old copper. It was purchased by W. S. Parker, Bookseller, of the same place and is now presented by him to the Historical Society of the State of N. York [The New-York Historical Society], Nov. 9, 1821."
>
> The thanks of the Society were directed to be returned to Mr. Parker for his donation.

It is probable that the worn and imperfect impression of the plate recently found with it was made either by Parker or the Society about 1820-21. About 25 or 50 impressions were made, presumably for the Society, by Mr. C. F. Wittenauer of this city "over forty or more years ago," that is, about 1906. Some half dozen copies of this impression, on thin cream-colored paper, are still in our collection. This year the Walpole Society, a group of eminent collectors of Americana, were the guests of our Society and as a souvenir of their visit, each was given an impression from the Johnson plate. This impression, limited to

INDIAN SILVER GORGETS AND MEDALS

(On view in the Society's exhibition of American Presentation Silver)

The set of six graduated silver gorgets, for presentation by the United States Government as a breast ornament, was made by Charles Burnet, Alexandria, Va.; and the gorget inscribed: *Danyel Cryn 1755* (lower left), by Barent Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y. *Lent by The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.*

The medal at the left, inscribed: *To the Bravest of the Brave*, was presented by the young ladies of a Washington school to Pita-Lesharu, a Pawnee Brave, in 1821. The three medals (upper right) are examples of George Washington Peace Medals, dated 1789, 1792, and 1793. *Lent by The American Numismatic Society.*

50 copies printed on heavy white hand-made paper, was inclosed in a printed folder with the following inscription:

On the occasion of the visit of The Walpole Society to The New-York Historical Society on May 25th, 1946, there were made from the original copperplate owned by the latter Society, fifty impressions of Sir William Johnson's Indian "Testimonial," engraved by Henry Dawkins of Philadelphia in the month of April, 1770 and originally designed to accompany the presentation of Royal medals to the Indians.

Some 20 copies of this impression, not needed for the Walpole Society, were distributed to various libraries and museums. This

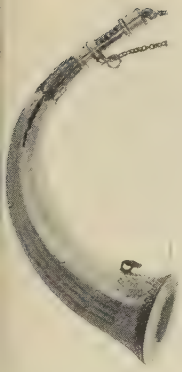
issue, prepared by the George Grady Press, was also seen through the press by the same Mr. C. F. Wittenauer who printed the other issue some forty years ago.

This copperplate (which measures 9¼ by 9½ inches in size) was first reproduced from the battered impression in our library, mentioned above, in an interesting article on "Indian Silver Ornaments," by Harrold E. Gillingham, which appeared in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April, 1934, pp. 97-126, illus. In this article, Mr. Gillingham says:

> Arthur Woodward suggests that the Testimonial might have been filled in as follows: "I do therefore give to you this public Testimonial thereof as a Proof of his Majesty's Esteem & Approbation, Declaring you the said *John Brant* to be a *Medal Chief* (or *Gorget Captain*) of your *Nation the Mohawks*. . . ," and the engraved cartouche at the head of the certificate illustrates the presentation of a medal.

This cartouche is not the least interesting feature of the certificate for it is probably the second picture of an Indian council published in this country and the first to show the presentation of a medal. It was preceded only by the cartouche showing a council under a half tent which appears on *A general map of the country on the Ohio and Muskingham* [sic] which was drawn by Thomas Hutchins, assistant engineer of the expedition, and probably also engraved by Henry Dawkins. It appears in William Smith's *An historical account of the expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the year 1764. Under the command of Henry Bouquet* . . . Philadelphia, 1765. The cartouche in the Johnson testimonial shows white men and Indians seated on either side of the Tree of Peace from the branches of which hangs the Chain of Friendship. In the foreground, standing on either side of the council fire, are Sir William Johnson and the chief to whom he is presenting a royal medal. On the ground at the left lies a peace pipe, a necessary part of every Indian council.

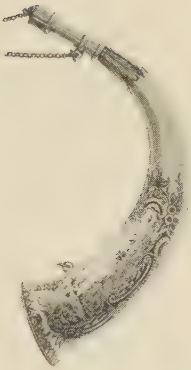
It is indeed fortunate that a curious set of circumstances should have preserved to our time this interesting copperplate and the manuscripts which tell its story and identify it as the work of one of the most famous of our Colonial engravers.



AMERICAN PRESENTATION SILVER

by

H. Maxson Holloway



ON THE evening of October 1st, The New-York Historical Society opened its fall season with a private preview of "An Exhibition of American Presentation Silver." The show covers a period of over two hundred years, dating from the early 18th to the early 20th century. The Society was indeed fortunate in being able to persuade Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Assistant Director and Curator of The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery, to deliver the illuminating lecture, entitled "Grateful America," which was so greatly enjoyed by members and invited guests. The exhibition will remain on view to January 12, 1947.

As far as can be learned, this is the first time that such a comprehensive display of American presentation silver has ever been assembled in the United States. Rightly, The New-York Historical Society is the institution to sponsor such an exhibition, since it is primarily interested in preserving and recording the history of America. The show could probably never have been organized by an art museum; there the emphasis is understandably centered on the finest work by the best craftsmen of each period. On the other hand, though the exhibition at the Society does show the work of some of the most prominent of American

Note: The silver powder horn illustrated in two views at the top of this page was made by Samuel Kirk, a Baltimore silversmith, and presented to George A. Davis by his colonel "for the best shot at a Regimental Target firing on the 22d day of November 1837." *Lent by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.*

silversmiths, pieces by lesser makers are also included because of their historic interest rather than their artistic value.

In going back over the history of our country, we find that silversmiths were engaged in making presentation silver almost from the beginning. The first pieces made were given to the churches by individuals or groups, and some of the finest examples of our early American silver still may be seen in the churches themselves or in museums. However, because church silver is a field in itself and many of these lovely old pieces have been shown in notable exhibitions held in New England, it was decided to omit such material from the present show and to concentrate on other types of presentation silver less frequently brought together.

The custom of presenting a piece or pieces of silver to individuals for services rendered or in grateful appreciation of deeds accomplished is still in practice in our country today. Silver presentation pieces have been awarded during the years to beloved college tutors, to our military men for successful engagements in battle and services to their country, and—in the form of medals and gorgets—to peace-loving Indians, as well as for distinguished sea rescues and the heroic work of our early volunteer firemen. Awards have also been made to encourage agriculture and to show esteem for men who had achieved prominence in the fields of business and politics. Currently most presentation silver takes the form of mounted plaques or loving cups given as trophies for athletic prowess or by military organizations.

Of the tutorial silver presented by students at Harvard and Yale, the bowl given in 1745 to Thomas Darling, Yale tutor, is outstanding. Made by Cornelius Kierstede, who worked both in New York and New Haven, it is one of the gems of the show. The tankard presented to Ezra Stiles upon his resigning his tutorship at Yale in 1755 is inscribed in Latin—a custom of the early days—and was made by Samuel Casey, silversmith of South Kingstown, Rhode Island. Joseph Willard, tutor at Harvard, was the recipient in 1770 of a can, the work of Samuel Minott

Photograph, courtesy Yale University Art Gallery

THE DARLING BOWL

Inscribed: * Domino * Darling Tutori : Dignissimo : hos : Damus
Cyathos : aeterni : Pigniis Amoris : Classis : Sua 1745
Made by Cornelius Kierstede, New York City and New Haven, Conn.
Lent by Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

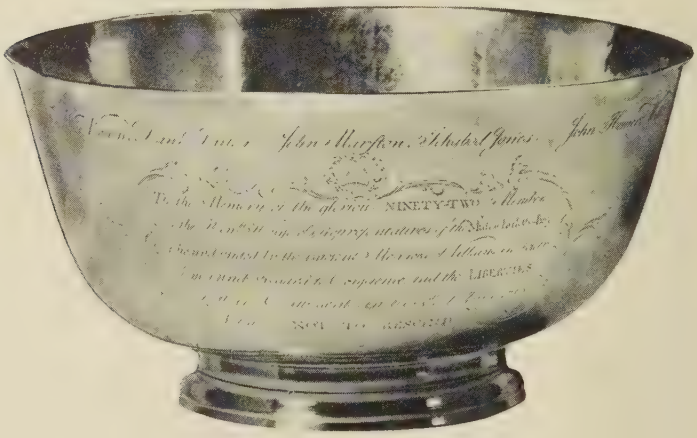
of Boston. We are indebted to the Yale University Art Gallery for the loan of these three pieces from the Garvan Collection and to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for a very handsome tankard by Minott which was likewise presented to Joseph Willard in 1770 by students at Harvard.

Formerly in the Hollis French Collection, a can made by Jacob Hurd and inscribed: *A Gift from some of the / Principall Officers in the regiment / of Boston to / Mr. Adjutant / Hunt / 1747* has been lent by the Cleveland Museum of Art.

A silver-hilted sword—the work of Myer Myers, prominent New York silversmith—is particularly interesting since it antedates the American Revolution. The sword was presented to Lieutenant David Jones of South Oyster Bay, Long Island, by Captain John Hulot (Hewlett) of Woodbury, Long Island. Since the recipient was killed in 1756 at the Battle of Oneida Crossing, while serving with General Bradstreet's army, the presentation must have taken place several years before and the sword was probably worn by Jones during the French and

Indian wars. It is simply inscribed: *Capt^n John Hulot / to David Jones Jun^r*, and is lent from the extensive sword collection of Mr. Philip Medicus, New York.

One of the most important of all presentation pieces is the "Sons of Liberty bowl," made by the patriot Paul Revere and lent for the present exhibition by Mr. Marsden J. Perry. It bears a lengthy inscription, with the names of the fifteen Sons of



"SONS OF LIBERTY" BOWL
Made by Paul Revere, Boston
Lent by Mr. Marsden J. Perry, New York

Liberty who ordered it engraved around the rim. Within its circular medallion, the inscription *N^o 45 / Wilkes & Liberty* sloganizes the famous 45th issue of John Wilkes' paper, the *North Briton*, which attacked the royal opposition to Colonial self-government and provoked the warrant of 1763 by which the King illegally imprisoned Wilkes and searched and seized his papers. The Massachusetts House of Representatives, following Wilkes' lead, not only protested to the King against his obnoxious measures but urged, in a letter to the other colonies, a program of united action against him. Ordered to rescind this

letter, they voted defiance, 92 to 17. These "Illustrious Ninety-two" became the toast of the patriot cause, and the bowl's inscription runs in part as follows: *To the Memory of the glorious NINETY-TWO Members / of the Hon^bl House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay: / who, undaunted by the insolent Menaces of Villains in Power, / from a strict Regard to Conscience and the LIBERTIES / of their Constituents, on the 30^th of June 1768 / Voted NOT TO RESCIND*—the beginning of stirring incidents that eventually led to the American Revolution and finally the birth of our democracy.

A salver made by Lewis Fueter, New York silversmith, was presented to Captain Thomas Sowers on March 13, 1773, by His Excellency Governor William Tryon and the General Assembly of New York in recognition of his services in repairing the battery at the lower end of Manhattan Island. Captain Sowers acknowledged the gift immediately in the following letter, printed in the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for March 15, 1773:

To His Excellency WILLIAM TRYON, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same. And to the Honourable Gentlemen of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

May it please your Excellency, And Honourable Gentlemen,

The singular Honour you have deigned to think me worthy of, by presenting me with a Piece of Plate for my small Services as Engineer in repairing of the Battery, obliges me to return you my Thanks, at the same time to assure your Excellency, and the Honourable Gentlemen of the Assembly, that with the Permission of his Excellency General Gage, under whose Command I have the Honour to be, I shall be ever ready to give my Assistance as an Engineer on any future Occasion which may present itself.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, your Excellency's and the Honourable Gentlemen of the General Assembly's,

Most obedient, and Most Obliged, Humble Servant,

Beaver-Street, New York
13th March, 1773.

THOMAS SOWER,
Captain of Engineers.

THE CAPTAIN THOMAS SOWERS SALVER

Made by Lewis Fueter, New York, New York

Inscribed: This Piece of Plate is the Gift of His Excel^{y}: Gov^{r}: Tryon, the Gene^{l}: Assem^{y}: of New-York, to Cap^{tn}: Sowers Engineer. 13 Mar^{h}: 1773.

Gift of J. Lawrence Aspinwall, his great grandson, 1928.

This piece was presented to The New-York Historical Society in 1928 by Captain Sowers' great-grandson, Mr. J. Lawrence Aspinwall. The salver, 21¾ inches in diameter, is beautifully engraved with the arms of New York, and in the battleflag decorations are the cypher initials of George III. Below the arms are engraved cannon, cannon balls, tools, fascines, and other objects used in building fortifications, a compliment to the engineering achievement of the recipient.

On November 3, 1780, by resolution of Congress, three silver medals were presented to the captors of Major John André, British spy, executed on October 2nd of that year. Two of the medals, now the property of this Society, belonged to John Paulding and David Williams. The Paulding medal was given in 1915 by his grandson, Mr. James P. Paulding, and the Williams medal was the gift of Mrs. Eugene A. Hoffman in 1905.

Another famous bowl made by Paul Revere is the one inscribed: *To / GENERAL WILLIAM SHEPARD / Presented by / The MILITIA of Springfield / as a Memorial of his Ability / and Zeal in quelling / SHAY'S REBELLION / at / Springfield Arsenal / January 25th 1787*. This notable piece, of tremendous historic interest, is lent by the Yale University Art Gallery from the Garvan Collection. Also the work of Paul Revere is the handsome urn of austere beauty presented by Samuel Parkman to Captain Gamaliel Bradford for his gallant defense when attacked by French privateers in the Straits of Gibraltar. This piece is on loan from the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston.

Presentation silver in the form of medals was bestowed upon peace-loving Indians as early as Colonial days. After the American Revolution, also, George Washington frequently presented Indian chiefs with medals upon the signing of a treaty of friendship. Often called "Indian peace medals," some bear the likeness of Washington. Probably the most famous of all is the one presented by President Washington in 1792 to Red Jacket, or

Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, Chief of the Senecas, at the time of the conference of the fifty chiefs of the Six Nations in Philadelphia. This treasure is lent to the exhibition by the Buffalo Historical Society. A beautifully engraved gorget by the well-known Philadelphia silversmith, Joseph Richardson, is lent by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the work of Daniel Christian Fueter, New York silversmith, is shown in two signed medals which are now owned by the Yale University Art Gallery. From the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, comes a beautifully engraved gorget which is inscribed: *Danyel Cryn 1755* and which bears the British coat of arms, the work of the Albany silversmith Barent Ten Eyck; also a breast ornament consisting of six graduated gorgets decorated with the American eagle which was made by Charles A. Burnett of Alexandria, Virginia, for presentation by the United States government. Five additional Indian medals have been lent for the exhibition by the American Numismatic Society.

THE HARTT TEASET

Made by Paul Revere, Boston
Presented to Edmund Hartt in appreciation of his building the Frigate *Boston*, 1799.

Lent by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A two-handled, covered cup by Jacob Hurd of Boston, one of the masterpieces of the exhibition, is lent by the Yale University Art Gallery from the Garvan Collection. The inscription tells the story of this historic piece: *To / EDWARD TYNG Esq. / Commander of ye SNOW / Prince of Orange / As an Acknowledgement of / his good Service done the / TRADE in Taking ye First / French Privateer / on this Coast the 24th of June / 1774 This Plate is presented / BY Several of ye Merchts / in Boston New / England.* A contemporary account may be found in the *Historical Chronicler*, June 26, 1744.

Of the teasets in the exhibition, one of the most beautiful is again the work of Paul Revere. Grateful citizens of Boston presented this treasure, lent to the Society by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to Edmund Hartt upon the completion of the Frigate *Boston* for the American Navy in 1799. The inscription reads: *To / Edmund Hartt / Constructor of the Frigate BOSTON / Presented by a number of his fellow citizens as a / Memorial of their sense of his Ability, Zeal & Fidelity / in the Completion of that Ornament / of the AMERICAN NAVY / 1799.*

At the close of the War of 1812, once more we find a nation paying its homage to its heroes in silver. Captain James Lawrence, who gave his life in the cause, was presented with posthumous awards from New York and Philadelphia which were received by his wife, Julia Lawrence. The City of New York chose a pitcher and two fruit dishes made by John Targee, a New York silversmith, and inscribed: *The Corporation of the City / of New York present this Plate in / testimony of the exalted opinion / entertained by that Body of their fellow / Citizens of the skill & gallantry displayed / by Capt James Lawrence, of the U. S. / Sloop of War Hornet in the capture of / British Sloop of War Peacock / on the 24. February 1813.* Stephen Allen, Chairman of the Committee of Finance, wrote a letter to Mrs. Lawrence which is quoted in part:

New York, Nov. 4th 1819.

Mrs. Lawrence.

Madam, I am instructed by the Finance committee to present to you the Plate, voted your late husband, Cap. Lawrence, by the Common Council of this City.

I regret however, that circumstance, beyond the control of the Committee, has so long retarded the performance of a duty honorable to the Citizens of this Metropolis . . . .

It is with great pleasure that I now redeem the pledge of the Corporation in a manner, it is presumed, perfectly agreeable to you; and in behalf of that body, and my colleagues of the Committee, permit me to hope, that the reflections arising from this transaction, and the high estimation in which your late husband was held by the Common Council and his fellow citizens generally, will prove a solace to the feeling of you and your child on this interesting occasion, and incentive to future relatives to emulate the virtues of him who will continue to live in the recollections of his countrymen.

With sentiments of great respect I subscribe myself your obd. Servant.

Stephen Allen, Chairn Comee of Finance.

Mrs. Lawrence replied the following day with a letter expressing her appreciation on receiving the silver:

Greenwich, Novr 5th, 1819.

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. accompanying the Plate voted my late lamented husband Capt James Lawrence, by the Hon Corporation of this City whose liberality on a subsequent as well as on the present occasion, I feel proud to acknowledge.

That his memory is cherished with affection and veneration by his fellow citizens will always be a source of consolation to myself—and as my Child advances in years, those public testimonies of respect and admiration of her Fathers character will be incentives to nobleness of mind even in the breast of a female.

Be pleased to communicate to the Committee my heartiest thanks, & accept for yourself the assurance of my sincere esteem.

Your obdt, Julia Lawrence.

The City of Philadelphia gave a soup tureen and pitcher made by Simon Chaudrons, silversmith of that city. A letter accompanying these pieces is preserved with them. The Lawrence silver and manuscripts shown in the exhibition were presented

THE REID TEASET
Made by N. Taylor & Co., New York City
Inscribed: The Citizens of New York to Capt. Samuel C. Reid
Lent by the Museum of the City of New York

to The New-York Historical Society in 1944 by Eugene H. Pool, M.D., and are usually shown in the Eugene H. Pool Collection of Lawrence material in the Naval History Gallery.

In Albany, New York, Commodore Isaac Hull was honored by the city's presentation of a pitcher by Shepard & Boyd, Albany silversmiths, after the capture of the *Guerrière*. This piece is loaned by the Wadsworth Atheneum of Hartford, Connecticut. Commodore Stephen Decatur also was honored by several cities after the War of 1812. In this show, two pieces are being exhibited, of which the wine cooler made by Whartenby & Bumm, Philadelphia, and presented by the citizens of that city is a beautifully ornamented example, lent to the exhibition by the

Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has lent its Decatur salver, the gift of the citizens of Baltimore and made by Andrew E. Warner, well-known silversmith there at the time. A teaset made by N. Taylor & Co., New York, was given in thanks and appreciation to Captain Samuel C. Reid for his meritorious service aboard the *General Armstrong*, which he commanded so brilliantly on the 26th of September, 1814, against the British Navy at the island of Fayal. Lent by the Museum of the City of New York, the set is of simple design with these words engraved in script: *The Citizens of New York to Capt. Samuel C. Reid.*

The so-called "Manumission Society pitchers," made by Joel Sayre, New York silversmith, are particularly interesting. Joseph Curtis, New Yorker, spent much of his time and energy in freeing the city of slavery. The pitchers were presented to him by the Manumission Society in 1817, and it is illuminating in this connection to quote from his biography, *Memoir of Joseph Curtis, A Model Man*, by Catharine Maria Sedgwick, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, in 1858:

> After spending three winters in Albany as an outside attendant on the sittings of the Legislature there, his labors and those of his coadjutors were successful, and in the session of 1817 an act of universal emancipation was passed. To signalize his great part in that honorable occasion, and when such gifts were not prostituted, as they now are, to noisy politicians and accidental successes, a pair of silver pitchers was presented to him. Each of them bears a vignette representing Mr. Curtis as the slave's champion, holding in one hand a mirror, which reflects the light upon two slaves whose manacles the Goddess of Liberty is loosing, while with the other he points to a black school-child pondering over his schoolbook. The design was in the earliest infancy of art in our New World, and certainly is not artistical, but its meaning is plain and precious.

The inscription is simply: *Act 31.st March 1817 / Manumission Society of New York to / Joseph Curtis.* There is also the word *EXCELSIOR*, the motto of the State of New York, at the top of the engraving. Although the author of the above excerpt does not speak flatteringly of the engraving, it is truly a beautiful one and among the few examples known where the engraver has

signed his work. Sayre made the pitchers, but the engraving is the work of J. D. Stout, of whom little is known at this writing except that he is listed in New York City directories as working at this period.

Silver was often presented to persons for their heroism at fires or to men who were faithful in the days of volunteer firemen. One of the earliest pieces is the beautiful pitcher made by Ebenezer Moulton, Boston silversmith, which is lent by the Museum of Fine Arts there. It is inscribed: *To Mr. ISAAC HARRIS / For his intrepid and successful exertions / on the roof of the Old South Church / when on fire Dec. 29nth 1810 / the Society present this token of their / GRATITUDE / Boston January 29nth 1811*. Baltis Branson of Baltimore was the recipient of an exquisite coffee pot made by Ball & Heald of that city for noble work in preserving property during the fire of 1811. This piece is from the collections of the Baltimore Museum of Art. From the Museum of the City of New York comes a pair of pitchers made by Stephen Richards and appropriately inscribed: *Presented by the Firemen of the City of New York / to Jameson Cox Esq. as a testimony of esteem, & in token / of their approbation for the faithful discharge of his duties / as Chief Engineer of the Fire Department / April 8th 1829*. Zophar Mills, well known in the '50s for his splendid work with the New York Fire Department, was presented with a tea and coffee set and a large salver by the firemen of New York out of respect for faithful and energetic services rendered to the Department. This set is the work of William L. Adams and was given to The New-York Historical Society by Zophar Mills' daughter, Dr. Adelaide Mills, in 1932. Another custom of the day was the presentation of beautifully ornamented trumpets made of silver, given as testimonials to men who served in the volunteer fire companies. Two representative examples of these trumpets are shown through the courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

When General Lafayette made his famous visit to this country

in 1824, he was fêted in many places and received many gifts. Arriving at Columbia, South Carolina, in March of 1825, he was entertained by Governor Manning and other dignitaries. Governor Manning presented him with a beautiful map case which is the work of Louis Boudo, the Charleston silversmith. It is delightfully inscribed: *Presented by / Richard J. Manning / Governor of South Carolina / To / General Lafayette / Whilst at Columbia in March 1825 / In tracing your route through our Territory every / inhabited spot will recall to your memory the / devotion and affection of a grateful people.* It is signed at the lower right: *L. Boudo, Fecit Charleston, S^o C^a.* This unusual piece is loaned to the exhibition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In 1825 the merchants of Pearl Street, New York, made the gesture of presenting to Governor DeWitt Clinton two handsome covered vases made by Fletcher and Gardiner, Philadelphia silversmiths. They were given in testimony of their gratitude and respect for the magnificent work he accomplished in constructing the "Northern and Western canals." Philip Hone, on February 14, 1838, while commenting in his diary (owned by The New-York Historical Society) on the silver presented to Nicholas Biddle, speaks of the silversmiths in this manner: "Fletcher & Co. are the artist who made the Clinton vases. Nobody in this 'world' of ours hereabouts can compete with them in their kind of work." These vases are lent by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, where they usually adorn the rostrum of the Great Hall.

A pair of pitchers—the work of Baldwin Gardiner, a New York silversmith—were presented to Commodore Isaac Chauncey by the citizens of Brooklyn on July 2, 1834. Commodore Chauncey was commandant of the Navy Yard in Brooklyn at two different periods: 1808-1812 and 1825-1833. During these two tours of duty the Commodore endeared himself to the citizens of Brooklyn. The following correspondence, published in the *New-York Gazette*, July 17, 1834, tells the story:

To Commodore Isaac Chauncey:

Sir—Your present visit enables us to perform the pleasing duty confided by the citizens of Brooklyn, of presenting to you the accompanying pieces of plate, as a testimonial of their high regard for your public services and private worth.

. . . . . .

We beg you, sir, to accept the assurance that the undersigned, and those whom they represent, will always recur with pleasure to the period of your residence among them; and that you will ever have their warmest wishes for your continued happiness.

We are, sir, with great respect, your friends and obediant servants,

Joseph Sanns,
Leffert Lefferts,
Jeremiah Johnson,
Peter W. Radcliff,
Elkanah Doolittle,
F. C. Tucker,
D. Embury,
Benj. D. Silliman,
Henry Waring,
G. Furman,
Wm. M. Sands.
Committee.

Brooklyn, July 2d, 1834.

Commodore Chauncey's reply follows:

New York, July 4th, 1834.

Gentlemen—I receive from you, as a Committee of my fellow citizens of Brooklyn, and accept with pleasure the pieces of plate which they have had the kindness to present to me as a mark of their regard and esteem, and as a testimony of the approval of my conduct during my late command of this station. For this additional evidence of the kind feelings and good wishes of my fellow citizens, conveyed by this delicate and beautiful memorial, I beg leave to tender my grateful acknowledgements. It will be an unfailing source of pleasure to me to preserve these offerings of friendship, connected, as they will ever be, with my sincere and ardent wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the donors.

I cannot allow the occasion to pass without offering to you, individually and collectively, my grateful thanks for the delicate and kind manner in which you have executed the commission confided to you by the citizens of Brooklyn, and for the many kind and flattering expressions in your communication.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, gentlemen, your faithful humble servant.

I. Chauncey.

To Joshua Sands, Leffert Lefferts, &c.

The pitchers were a gift to The New-York Historical Society in 1941 from the Commodore's great-grandson, Mr. Clarence Macy Chauncey.

One of the more unusual pieces of silver in the show is a powder horn of repousse treatment with cartouche sighting the inscription. It was made by the Baltimore silversmith, Samuel Kirk, and now belongs to the Maryland Historical Society. It is inscribed: *Presented by Colonel E. L. Finley of the 5th Regiment / Volunteer Infantry to Geo A. Davis, Eutaw Inf^y for the / best shot at a Regimental Target firing on the / 22^d day of November 1837.*

Grateful passengers on two different occasions presented Captain William Rollins with silver in appreciation of his efforts in saving their lives at sea. A coffee pot made by Gerardus Boyce, New York silversmith, is inscribed: *This piece of Plate / is presented to Capt W^m Rollins / by a portion of the Passengers of the / Steamer New-York, / as a slight testimonial of their gratitude to him / in rescuing them from their perilous situation / on the 3^rd of Aug^t 1837.* In 1840, when in command of the steamer *Neptune*, Captain Rollins received a teaset made by E. Stebbins & Co., New York, from passengers whose lives he had saved. The Rollins silver also is loaned to the show by the Maryland Historical Society, and the Wadsworth Atheneum has lent an interesting teaset which is inscribed: *Presented to / Capt John Urquhart / of ship Lorena / as a token of respect / by his passengers from / New York to Mobile, / Mobile Oct^r 30, 1835.* This teaset was made by C. White, silversmith in Mobile, Alabama.

Of the Civil War pieces, a covered bowl made by Tiffany & Co., New York, is most aptly inscribed: *PRESENTED / to / Judge Advocate General / William Henry Anthon, / BY THE / Commissioners and Surgeons of Drafting / in the / CITY OF NEW YORK, / AS A / Testimonial / of their appreciation of the eminent ability and unswerving integrity with which the pro-*

ceedings preparatory to the draft were conducted. / Dated New York, April —, 1863. The committee presenting the bowl consisted of Major General C. W. Sandford, Major General H. T. Kiersted, Brigadier General Wm. Hull, P. B. Mauran, M.D., and R. A. McCurdy, Esq. The bowl is a gift of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish to The New-York Historical Society in 1946.

The Bryant vase made by Tiffany & Co. dates from 1876 and is loaned to the show by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This is a very famous piece, and at the time of presentation much was written of the vase and the greatness of William Cullen Bryant, the recipient. It was presented by his friends and countrymen on June 20, 1876. The vase was designed by James H. Whitehouse, a Tiffany associate, and bears on the obverse a medallion with a profile portrait of Bryant. A book was written about the vase, containing its history, the story of its presentation, tributes to Bryant, and selections from his poetry. As to the vase's design, Mr. Whitehouse is quoted in the above book, *The Bryant Vase*, as follows:

> ... When the Bryant Testimonial was first mentioned to me, my thoughts at once flew to the country—to the crossing of the boughs of trees, to the plants and flowers, and to a general contemplation of Nature; and these, together with a certain Homeric influence, produced in my mind the germ of the design—the form of a Greek vase, with the most beautiful American flowers growing round and entwining themselves gracefully about it, each breathing its own particular story as it grew.

A late 19th-century custom still practiced today is the use of a silver trowel to lay the cornerstone of a public building. In the collections of The New-York Historical Society, trowels tell the stories of many of New York's great edifices. For example, the Society is exhibiting the silver trowel made by Gorham & Co., New York, used in laying the cornerstone of the present building. The obverse inscription reads: *With this trowel / The Hon. Seth Low / Mayor of the City of New York / laid the corner stone / of the / new building of the / New York Historical Society / Central Park West / 76th & 77th Street / on /*

November Seventeenth / MCMIII; while on the reverse the following names appear: *Building Committee / Samuel Verplanck Hoffman / President / Sydney H. Carney Jr. / Recording Secretary / Frank Tilford / James William Beekman / Clarence Storm / York & Sawyer / Architects / MCMIII.*

It is hardly possible in the space of so short an article to comment on all the associated material—portraits, manuscripts, prints, newspaper articles, and the like—which add to the interest and educational value of the show. A particularly interesting association piece is the Indian Testimonial of Sir William Johnson which accompanied the presentation of silver gorgets and medals to friendly chiefs, and which Mr. Vail, our director, describes elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*. The Society's extensive holdings produced many other related items of importance, and still others, which space precludes mentioning individually, were made available by fellow institutions. Nor is a full list of the silver included—for instance, the account of the service presented to Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry on his successful negotiation of the treaty opening Japan to Western commerce has been left to the able hands of President Zabriskie in the opening article of this issue.

The exhibition now being held in the Society's galleries could never have taken place had it not been for the generosity of some of the country's leading museums and historical societies in lending their treasures. Many valuable loans have also been made by private collectors. The Society wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its sincere thanks and gratitude to the following institutions and individuals who have cooperated so wholeheartedly to make the show possible:

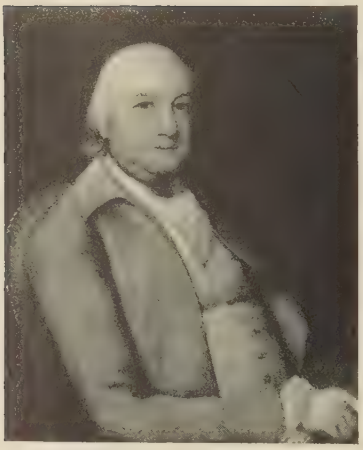
Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts
Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York
American Numismatic Society, New York, New York
Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland
Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, New York

Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, New York, New York
Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
Mr. Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Delaware
Mr. Philip Hammerslough, West Hartford, Connecticut
Harvard University, Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Mr. Oliver B. Jennings, New York, New York
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts
Mr. Philip Medicus, New York, New York
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, New York
Museum of the City of New York, New York, New York
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Mr. Marsden J. Perry, New York, New York
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Mrs. Gordon S. Rentschler, New York, New York
Samuel Kirk & Son, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland
Seventh Regiment, New York, New York
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut
Mrs. Alexander J. Wall, Sr., New York, New York
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, from The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection

Pieces from the Society's own collections were given or bequeathed by Mr. Henry Benson Adriance, Mr. J. Lawrence Aspinwall, Mr. George Van Nest Baldwin, Hon. Perry Belmont, Mr. Clarence Macy Chauncey, Maria Duane Bleecker Cox (bequest), Mr. W. H. Crossman, Mrs. Walter Durbrow, Mrs. Florence Rogers Dietrich, Mrs. Augustus Van Horne Ellis, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, Mrs. Eugene A. Hoffman, Mr. Edward Westervelt Lawson, Hon. George B. McClellan, Mr. Clive Mecklem, Dr. Adelaide Mills, Mr. James P. Paulding, Eugene H. Pool, M.D., Children and Grandchildren of John Roach, Miss Sarah E. Scofield, Mrs. Louise E. Spies Sinclair (bequest), Estate of Ina Love Thursby, Mrs. Sarah H. Van Nest, Miss Kate Warner (bequest), and Mr. George A. Zabriskie.

FOOTNOTE TO THE REVOLUTION: THE TRIBULATIONS OF WILLIAM GILLILAND

by ELIZABETH MARTING



WILLIAM GILLILAND (1734–1796)
Portrait by Ralph Earl, 1789
Bequest of Mrs. Charlotte E. Draper, 1910

WHILE Ralph Earl's creditors kept him confined to the "gaol limits" of New York in the late 1780s, he painted his way toward freedom through a series of portraits—among them a fellow prisoner's.[1] William Gilliland posed benignly in his fluted shirt frill and wrist ruffles. Why did this elegant debtor sit for Earl? And how, one may ask, came the master of Willsboro to lose his grip on the wealth and power he had thought were his? The story of his ascendancy has been told—largely from the journal[2] he began on that very day in 1765 when he set forth on his great adventure. Students have made use as well of a handful of letters[3]—all to be found among the Gates Papers of The New-York Historical Society—which gave the facts of Gilliland's initial

[1] See William Sawitzky's forthcoming monograph on Earl to be published by The New-York Historical Society.

[2] Winslow C. Watson, *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley* (Albany: 1863), pp. 92–199. For a lively account based primarily on the journal and other papers included in this volume, see also John Pell's "Saga of Will Gilliland," *New York History* (October 1932), Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 390–403.

[3] Watson quotes one each by Gilliland, Gates, Arnold, and Thomas Hartley. These and ten other pertinent letters in the Society's possession appear also in Force's *American Archives* (5th Series). Chiefly in its Gates Papers, the Society has in all nine autograph notes and letters written by Gilliland, a letter from Gates to Gilliland, and sixteen additional items important to the present story.

clash with the Revolutionary forces, yet there are other letters in this same collection from which further details of his downfall may be pieced together to form a pattern that was doubtless duplicated many times over as innocent patriots were caught in the jaws of civil war.

Born in 1734 near the North Ireland city of Armagh, Gilliland must have been handsome at twenty. Those were the days when he had no money yet was hopelessly in love with the Lady Betsy Eckles. Recruiting sergeants have ever been persuasive of the army's power to mend broken hearts; Gilliland promptly enlisted, served four years with His Majesty's 35th Regiment of Foot, and was duly discharged at Philadelphia, "being sickly and having got two better men in his room,"[4] on the 13th of April, 1758. Ten months later—as the partner and son-in-law of the rich New York merchant who had hired him—he was nursing a grandiose scheme to carve himself a barony out of the New World wilderness that would raise him as high as the haughty Lord Eckles or the proud patroons of Rensselaerwyck. With Elizabeth Phagan's dowry in his hands and the King offering land to all who had fought against the French, he could take his next step. The Peace of 1763 made the Champlain country the logical place, and Gilliland knew it well from his regimental career. He claimed his allotted acreage and bought up the rights of others at bargain prices; by the end of 1764 he had ready a tract of some 3,500 acres extending for more than six miles along the west shore of the lake.

No Irishman ever lacked words to sell a pet project. In return for hardships and feudal services, Gilliland dangled before prospective settlers only a leasehold of land they could never own with the added promise of meager wages for the indispensable artisan, yet on May 10, 1765, he was able to head his journal "Willsborough Town Book" and begin optimistically:

[4] Watson, pp. 203–4.

. . . This day I embarked at New York, for Albany, having the following persons in company . . . , viz.:

1 John Chislm, millwright, to work 4s p day and found.
2 Robert Maclane " " £5 p mo. and found.
3 George Melson, carpenter, to work £3:12 p mo. and found.
4 John Mattoon, clerk, at £25 p ann. and found.
5 James Storkner, weaver, at 40s p mo. if wanted.
6 Robert McAuley, do do do
7 John McAuley, do do do
8 George Belton, do do do
9 Mrs. Belton, wife to the foregoing of same name.
10 Mrs. Chislm, wife to the foregoing of same name.
11 Catherine Shepherd, hired to keep house.
12 Mary Craig indentured for four years.[5]

From Albany cattle were herded along the bank while the party continued upstream in four unwieldy bateaux. Arrived at Fort Edward, the boats with their eighty barrels of stores were hauled overland for the trip down Lake George; at Ticonderoga the same laborious process was repeated while lumber from the sawmill there was lashed into a raft. The company reached Crown Point on June 5th, and on the 8th—augmented since Albany by a cooper, farmer, wagon maker, blacksmith, and tailor—landed at Gilliland's chosen site near the mouth of the Bouquet.

That summer they built a house and a mill, cleared what land they could, and made hay for the winter. Lots were laid out and assigned to the tenants; then, in November, Gilliland returned to New York. By the end of the following June he was back, dealing briskly with attempted mutiny and planning improvements to please his ladies.[6] During the next nine years new settlers brought the population to 100; when the first town meeting was held on Saint Patrick's Day, 1775, there were 28 dwellings, two

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 92–3.

[6] "Sunday, 22d June [1766], about 1 o'clock this day, I William Gilliland, with my wife, Mrs. Eliz[a] Gilliland, my mother Mrs. Jane Gilliland, my sister Miss Charity Gilliland, my brother Mr. James Gilliland [later an officer in the American army], my daughter Miss Eliz[a] Gilliland, my niece Miss Eliz[a] Hamilton, my servant girl Rachel McFardin, and my negro man Ireland, all arrived at Milltown, in Willsborough, . . ." Watson, p. 125. A six-year-old daughter Jane had been drowned near Stillwater.

saw- and two gristmills, and upwards of 40 other buildings; there were gardens, orchards, fields of corn, wheat, and flax.

Gilliland's dreams were soaring. He and Philip Skene, his prototype to the south, had joined with Ethan Allen, Amos Bird, and others of their neighbors across the lake in seeking the establishment of a separate province—outgrowth of the New York-New Hampshire feud—west of the Connecticut River and north of the Mohawk. Declared Skene, the would-be governor: " . . . on the 28th of Jany 1775, I received from the Earl of Dartmouth then Secretary for the American Department, His Majesties Commission under his Sign Manual, appointing me Lt Governor Commandant of Crown Point & Ticonderoga, with His Majesties assurance of a Salary of £200 p Annum for said Government."[7] This appointment, says Ira Allen,[8] was Skene's first objective, "which being effected, his friends advised him that, to obtain the grand object in view, he should bring forward a petition from the people on the premises to the King and Privy Council, stating, that in order to restore harmony in the said district, and for the convenience of administering justice in a department very remote and extensive, his Majesty would be pleased to establish the territory aforesaid, with colonial privileges, and appoint Colonel Philip Skene Governor thereof." Apparently, then, it was only "the calamity of an approaching war in America" that brought the scheme crashing down.

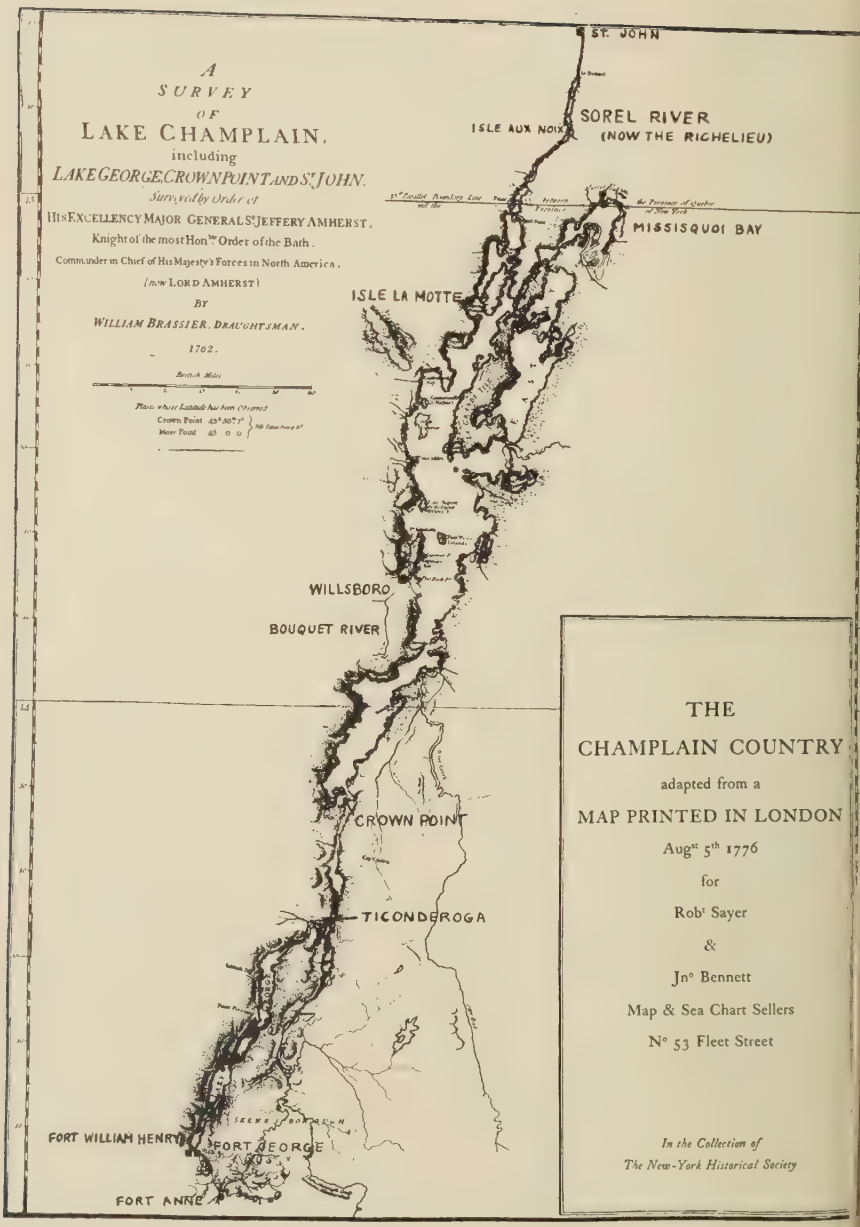
Skene's loyalties remained with the Crown, but William Gilliland was among those who rallied under Ira's brother Ethan to march against Ticonderoga, although he evidently did not take part in the early-morning capture of the fort on May 10, 1775.[9] In a memorial[10] addressed to the Continental Congress, Gilliland

[7] Skene to the Treasury, Chelsea, June 8, 1784, in John Pell's "Philip Skene of Skenesborough," *Quarterly Journal of the New York Historical Association* (January 1928), Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 27–44.

[8] Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont* (London: 1798), pp. 53–5.

[9] *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* (January 1930), Vol. II, No. 1, p. 11.

[10] Watson, pp. 174–181. Undated, the document must have been drafted late in 1776 but is not mentioned in the Congressional Journals.


A
SURVEY
OF
LAKE CHAMPLAIN,
including
LAKE GEORGE, CROWN POINT AND ST. JOHN.
Surveyed by Order of
His EXCELLENCY MAJOR GENERAL SR. JEFFERY AMHERST,
Knight of the most Honble Order of the Bath,
Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America,
(now LORD AMHERST)
BY
WILLIAM BRASSIER, DRAUGHTSMAN.
1762.
ST. JOHN
SOREL RIVER
(NOW THE RICHELIEU)
ISLE AUX NOIX
MISSISQUOI BAY
ISLE LA MOTTE
WILLSBORO
BOUQUET RIVER
CROWN POINT
TICONDEROGA
FORT WILLIAM HENRY
FORT GEORGE
FORT ANNE
THE
CHAMPLAIN COUNTRY
adapted from a
MAP PRINTED IN LONDON
Aug^st 5^th 1776
for
Rob^t Sayer
&
Jn° Bennett
Map & Sea Chart Sellers
N° 53 Fleet Street
In the Collection of
The New-York Historical Society

took credit for having been "the first person who laid a plan for & determined upon seizing Ticonderoga, C. Point and the Kings armed vessel, & therewith the entire command of Lakes George & Champlain," and for settling [*in Allen's favor*] "an unhappy dispute wh subsisted between Mr [Ethan] Allen and Mr [Benedict] Arnold" over the leadership of the expedition. He claimed further that the deciding factor which induced Congress to regularize Allen's Green Mountain Boys was a letter he had written calling them "brave as Hercules," worth "treble their number of others" under their "enterprising and heroick commander."[11] Allen himself delivered the letter to Congress—apparently in June 1775 when he and Seth Warner went to Philadelphia to state their case in person. However, as both messengers were admitted to the floor, it may have been Allen's own tongue that persuaded Congress to place his men on the Continental payroll and recommend "to the convention of New-York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised for the defense of America, those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys shall chuse."[12]

In the same memorial Gilliland boasts of supplying the army "with as many water craft as transported several hundred men from C. Point to Canada, whither he conducted Gen. Montgomery safe, from his better knowledge of the navigation, than perhaps any other person then with that Genl." Actually, "William Gilleylen" was listed as a first lieutenant in the first of four regiments recruited in New York for the ill-starred Canadian campaign. Months later, after the long retreat south, one Lewis Dubois who had served with Montgomery organized a fifth regiment for the New York Convention, whereupon five officers complained of being superseded under the new arrangement.

[11] Gilliland to Congress, May 29, 1775. See Force's *American Archives* (4th Series), Vol. 2, pp. 731–2; also John Pell, *Ethan Allen* (Boston: 1929), pp. 102–3, and *New York History* (October 1932), Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 400–1.

[12] Journals of the Continental Congress, June 23, 1775.

Regarding Gilliland—cited by the five as a man overlooked completely—Colonel Dubois wrote John Hancock: ". . . I hope I shall stand justified in not returning his name in my list . . . , because he is noted as unfit to serve, . . ."[13] Unfit physically, no doubt. "Sickly" even at twenty-four, Gilliland speaks in his journal of indifferent health, threatened blindness, being "bled and blistered"; surely that frightful '76 winter in camp would have laid him low.[14] And Willsboro, of course, lay directly in the path of war. Affairs there, he soon found, had so degenerated as to claim his whole attention.

I am very Sorry [*he wrote General Gates on July 21, 1776*] to be a Complainant against one of my own—one of my first Setlers on Lake Champlain. But his Threatenings have been so frequent and so Severe against the Continental Officers, & against me, for the part I have taken on their Side, that it has been tho.t proper to Confine him. I have Just now heard, with much astonishment, that he is gon from hence to Ticonderoga, under the patronidge of Major Udny Hay—Shou'd he be released without Enquiry—adieu to American or to Political Virtue; . . .[15]

Only in a postscript did he remember to add, "the prisoner's name is George Belton."[16]

Horatio Gates and his officers had no great opinion of Gilliland's patriotism. On September 11, 1776, Gates wrote Philip Schuyler: "I send to Gilliland and the Inhabitants in the Rear of

[13] Lewis Dubois to John Hancock, July 17, 1776. Force, *American Archives* (5th Series), Vol. I, p. 393. See also *ibid.*, pp. 228–30.

[14] Francis B. Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army . . .* (Washington, D. C.: 1914), p. 249, names Gilliland as a first lieutenant from June 1776 in Lasher's Regiment of New York Militia. Here he is evidently confused with the William Gilbert of James A. Roberts' *New York in the Revolution*, 2nd ed. (State Comptroller's Office, Albany: 1898), p. 218. Gilliland's later enlistment in the Albany County Militia (Roberts, p. 221), under the so-called "Land Bounty Rights" provision, of course does not mean that he saw actual service again.

[15] Where no source is given, all letters quoted or mentioned are in the Society's possession. Those dated 1776 are printed in Force's *American Archives* and cited in part by Watson.

[16] It would appear that no further action was taken against Belton, who perhaps coveted the $500 placed on Gilliland's head in June 1775 by Sir Guy Carleton. Watson, p. 175. Sheriff White of Tryon County had tried to earn it only to be captured himself by Gilliland and eventually banished. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution, in the Office of the Secretary of State* (Albany: 1868), Vol. I, pp. 131, 161, 179; Vol. II, p. 364.

the Fleet, to Supply G Arnold with all the Fresh Beef & Mutton, Garden Stuff &c that they can furnish. While we are uppermost, Gilliland & the rest will take Our Money—it is all we can hope from them." The General's pessimism doubtless reflected the rumors both he and Arnold had been hearing as far back as July about certain Willsboro figures. Captain James Wilson, patrolling the lake to the north, made frequent reports, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hartley wrote as conscientiously from Crown Point. In his letter of July 22nd to Arnold, Captain Wilson told of capturing a Frenchman "up Under the East Shore of the Lake" near Isle La Motte.

He informed us as we understood him [*Wilson continued*] that he met two men in a Canoe about a l[e]ague this side of Isle aux Naux, who informed him that two of our Boats [*Wilson's own, apparently*] lay at Isle of Mote. He says they live near Gillelands Creek, and if we understand him properly, went down with information to the Enemy. We hope to be able to intercept them on their return.

Colonel Hartley, on the 24th, sent Gates further news:

I have understood from several Quarters that which induces me to apprehend that the Supposition that Gilliland and some others had sent down one Edw:[d] Watson and another to S:[t] Johns [*enemy post on the Sorel (Richelieu) River*] had some foundation. they doubtless carry any Intelligence they have to the Enemy. It has been just intimated to me that Gilliland and Jack Watson with one McCauley all relations have had a Hint that they are suspected. this may induce them either to Send a Cannoe or Boat to warn the two Men of their Danger in returning or to make their own Escape I have Ordered a Party of about 25 Men to set off in a Boat towards Cumberland Head to intercept . . . the two Ra[s]cals in the Cannoe who are gone to S.[t] Johns, in their Return to Willsborough and also to favour Captain Wilsons Retreat . . . .

But Gates had problems on his mind that dwarfed these picayune matters: how to get along with Schuyler, what Sir Guy Carleton was up to, whether Arnold's make-do fleet could stave off the British armada that was reassembling at St. Johns. Nor were Gilliland's charges against tenants like Belton or against Gates' officers important, although when trouble arose over

purchases made from Gilliland by the quartermaster's corps, Gates ordered

> Colonel S[t] Clair, Colonel Wayne, & M:[r] Avery Dep:[y] Commissary General to set this Afternoon, at four O Clock, as a Court of Enquiry to examine into certain Demands made upon the United States by M:[r] Gilliland and Major Udney Hay, A.D.Q.M.G. They will certify such as they think Just and Reasonable, that the Demands of the Claimants may be settled and adjusted.[17]

Whatever the decision in this instance and regardless of Gilliland's later claims for crops sold through Major Hay, Gates seemingly tried to be fair. Not so his subordinate Arnold, who, still resentful of Gilliland's championship of Ethan Allen, was willing both to use and abuse him. "M[r]. Gilliland," he wrote to Gates on August 31st, "has the only good draught I know of Lake Champlain, which he says, was Delivered Cap.[t] Bush for you. It will be of great Service to me as I have no Draught of the Lake"—to which Gates replied on the 5th of September, "I send you by the Bearer, Lieutenant Calderwood, the Draught of the Lake, as you desire." This map was never returned to its owner nor gratitude expressed. Meanwhile, on September 1st,[18] Gilliland had found it necessary to protest to Arnold in the strongest language:

> The Troops & Sailors accompanying you on your Cruize this day week, have wontonly and Wickedly Committed great destruction on Several of my plantations on this Settlement—they have forceably, raised Two Fields of Potatoes, that if full grown wou'd have fill'd 200 Bushells —an acre of Pease are entirely destroyed which wou'd have yielded 16 to 20 Bushells, 5 or 6 acres of Corn is Ruined, about Ten Dollars worth of Smith's Tools and a Multitude of other Iron. Two Pleasure Sleys, 5 New Sash Windows, a New Bed-stead & Bed-Cord Several Chairs and many other articles they have Carried off, Tearing Houses, Breaking

[17] July 31, 1776. See Gates' Orderly Book, Ticonderoga and Albany, July 10, 1776–June 3, 1777, in the Society's collection; also Watson, p. 57, and *American Archives* (5th Series), Vol. I, p. 801.

[18] According to Heitman, Gilliland was taken prisoner on August 27th at the Battle of Long Island, and Erastus C. Knight lists him as a one-time captive of the British on p. 42 of the 1901 supplement to *New York in the Revolution*. However, the time element rules out the capture of our William Gilliland on Long Island almost completely, and if he ever had been a prisoner, he surely would have mentioned the fact in one of his numerous memorials.

Doors, and Committing every villainy in the most insolent & Licentious manner, even before my serv.ts face, who I sent to guard these things, telling them it was by order of their Officers they Came for the Vegetables, & have them they w.d were I present my self. this was a bad return for 75 Salmon given to them and Cap.t Alexander's People on that & the preceding day; As I'm convinced you wou'd not by any means countenance such proceedings, I rely & request you will have immediate Justice done me; by ordering a Survey or Enquiry to be made to ascertain the amount of my Damage . . . .

Gilliland added a wily—if misplaced—suggestion that his "Salmon Cribb & all it's apparatus were Carried off Last Monday night, by the violence of a very great flood"; if the fleet's carpenter could be spared for a day or two, some fish might be forthcoming. A few more admonitions and the letter went off to Arnold's flagship, the *Royal Savage*, "with 12 Dry & 2 frish Salmon, being all I have!"

Far from making amends, the Brigadier General retaliated by ordering Gilliland, his half brother John Watson, and one of the McAuleys to be taken as prisoners to Ticonderoga. He gave his reasons for this action in a letter to Gates dated September 28, 1776. A Frenchman living "Opposite the Isle A La Motte" (he wrote) said that the men alleged by Wilson and Hartley to be informers had told the enemy of "Capt. Wilson & his party being on the Lake, in Consequence of which he [*Wilson*] was taken"; also, that "about a Fortnight past Two Men, whom he knew to be Gillilands Tennants came to his house, said they were sent Down by Gilliland, with Intelligence, that they Appeared in a great hurry & Offered him Five Dollars to let them over Missisque Bay, as their Canou was leaky, which he did." Supposedly, the two were bound for St. Johns. Said Arnold:

I am fully of Opinion, that Gilliland, John Watson & McCawley, have from time to Time sent expresses to the Enemy & given them all the Intelligence In their power, & no Persons have known our Affairs better. I make no doubt that the Enemy have often ben harboured at the houses of the first & last. . . . I don't think it is prudent to let them remain on their Farms unless we Chuse the Enemy should know all Our Measures. Gilli-

land is a most plausible And Artfull Villain, Inclosed is a Letter of Complaint which he wrote me after the fleet passed his Settlement not one Sillable of which is true. One M.r Dujuit a Tennant of his who had left his place, went up with the Fleet & offered me some Vegetabls, which he said would be lost if I did not Accept them. I sent some Boats on Shore under the direction of Capt Dunn. The whole stuff that was brought of was not worth Forty Shillings. No other Boats from the fleet were on shore. as we returned to Button mould Bay the Next morning, & on our going Down the Lake the Second time only one boat was on shore & the few Vegitabls taken were from Farms deserted of which I believe Gilliland has no right, his Complaint Appears more Groundless than that About his Cattle for which he was paid two or three Times & Carried them home at last.

With the letters came the sworn testimony of Thomas Day, one of Gilliland's former tenants, who stated that

. . . some Time in the beginning of July last being in Company with William Gilliland Esq.r & William Wykes [*another tenant*] he heard Wykes say that he was not afraid to go to S:t Johns to the Regulars; and that it appeared to him from their Intimacy, and being frequently together and from sundry Expressions of Gilliland that he contrived the Plan of Wykes and Ned Watsons [*possibly a son of John's*] going of. That he heard Gilliland say the Army acted like a parcel of damn'd Robbers. That several of Gillilands Tenants in particular one Nath: Blood bought sundry Tents Guns Axes &c from the Soldiers of the american army for a Mere Trifle of Rum which said Blood had from said Gilliland and he believes said Gilliland was concerned with said Blood. the Deponent observed to Gilliland, that he thought it very wrong to buy those articles of the Soldiers as it was defrauding the Country to which Gilliland answered it was no Matter how much they got out of the Country the more the better; & That being at Gillilands when the army was going to Canada this Spring, Several Officers passed by the Window, Gilliland said there comes a Company of damnd Buggers. He was also in Company with John Watson since the late Retreat he heard said Watson say that he was not afraid of the Regulars if they came for that he had several Officers, for Relations among them and as for the american Army they had acted like a Parcel of damn'd Robbers.

Gates knew Thomas Day. Joining the British briefly, he had reappeared as Sergeant Day of "Colonel McLeans Regiment late of Captain Lambs Company, who deserted from Point aux Tremble[s], between Montreal and Sorrell, . . . the 31:st Au-

gust." Arnold's letters of September 15th and 16th had enclosed a formal examination of the man which Gates in turn sent to Philip Schuyler on the 22nd, noting that the Sergeant had "sett out this day for Albany" and had the appearance of "an Open, Honest Fellow well attachd." But why had Arnold withheld this testimony against Gilliland? Many of the tenants were proving most ungrateful: had the Brigadier General attributed Thomas Day's charges to spite till his own resentment of Gilliland ran away with his scruples? On the 2nd of October Gates wrote tentatively to Arnold:

> . . . after Dinner [*on October 1st*] Mess.rs Gilliland, Watson, & McAuley, were brought here prisoners; I found they had a free intercourse together at Crown Point; so that no End could be answerd by keeping them Sepparate here. I propose sending them to General Schuyler, with the Deposition of Serjeant Day & your Letter. The Serjeant is by this Time at Philadelphia; but Gilliland, desining to remain down the Country during the War, there will be no Difficulty in bringing him to Answer any Accusation.

Gate's secretary, William Clajon, actually copied the papers,[19] but neither Gates' letter to Schuyler of October 4th nor that of the 11th mentions the case, nor does Arnold in his message of the 7th acknowledging Gates' "favor of the 2d Inst." The loss of the fleet under Arnold on October 11th and 13th at once thrust Gilliland far to the back of both men's minds. Even so, perhaps Colonel Hartley's right-about-face had something to do with Gates' letting Gilliland go to Albany, not as a prisoner sent to Schuyler, but more or less freely.

> I thought [*wrote Hartley to Gates on October 1st*] that as M.r Gillilands Family and Watsons Family were in our Power, there would have been no Danger of either of the Men had they inclined to act against us.
>
> M.r Watsons Family is in great Distress, his Wife near Lying-in very unwell & made unhappy from his Confinement, induces me to desire that Watson should be permitted to return here [*Crown Point*] to remove his Family as he proposes. there can in my opinion be no great Danger let his Offence be what it may.

[19] Both the originals and Clajon's copies may be seen in the Society's Gates Papers.

With the lake country ravaged by the enemy and their Indian allies, Gilliland and Watson were not alone in having to move their families first to the relative safety of Crown Point and Ticonderoga and eventually to Albany. The following summer the city became still more crowded as Burgoyne replaced Sir Guy Carleton and pushed on south to be forced into surrender at Saratoga; if Gilliland's strenuous attempts to salvage his fortunes had been less conspicuous, he might have escaped the vigilant Committee of Correspondence, but on December 6, 1777, "Major Stevens Coll° Greaton & M^r^ John Ten Broeck appeared before the Board and informed them that they had found in the Possession of M^r^ Gilliland about 250 lbs. of Powder, two Guns two Oil Cloths and several Cartridge Papers for four Pounders, all of public property," whereupon it was "ordered that M^r^ Gilliland be kept in M^r^. Bells [*the Albany jailer's*] Custody till this afternoon." At two o'clock

> The Committee having examined the Proof against M.^r^ Gilliland and he having confessed that he had at several Times bought Powder from different People and an Oil Cloth from a Soldier
>
> Thereupon Resolved That the said M^r^ Gilliland be put in Close Confinement till the farther order of the Council of Safety shall be known respecting him, and that a State of the Charge alledged against him be transmitted to the said Council with all dispatch——[20]

The Committee's decision of December 13th to free Gilliland "upon his entring into Bond . . . in the Penal Sum of £1000," brought Horatio Gates—now at Albany—into the fray, the taste of his Saratoga victory soured by the misunderstanding with Washington over the Conway letter. His message of the 15th to Chairman John Barclay showed no lingering doubts whatever of Gilliland's unreliability; flatly it declared:

> The Enlargement of William Gilliland on his giving Bail for £1500 [*sic*] N. Y. C.^cy^ 1,000 of which by one Rolf, a reputed Tory, and the Remainder by himself, is, I own, what I never expected the Committee of

[20] For the passages quoted see Sullivan, *Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence 1775-1778* (Albany: 1923), Vol. I, pp. 877–8, 884, 885, 920. Gates' letter and the excerpt sent him are in the Society's possession.

Albany would have done without acquainting me with the Measure, as the United States are interested in the Issue. Gilliland pretends to be a Refugee; but I well remember I sent him last Year, from Ticonderoga to this Town, on Account of his having acted in an inimical Manner against us.

The Crime he now stands charged with, is a very great One, should it be no more extensible than it now appears; and, as I am informed he has already confessed the Fact, I conceive the Common law would not admit him to Bail, that Indulgence being granted in such Cases only which admit a Presumption of the Prisoner's Innocence.

But the Committee would also put in his Power the Woman who accused him, and whom, he pretends to be his Slave; and, she saith she can prove that she was born from a free Mother, at Ipswich in New England. [*Obviously, though the Committee minutes fail to mention the negress previous to the date of Gates' letter, a second and far more serious charge had been made against Gilliland.*]

Can it be supposed, that the Accused, if guilty, will not remove that Woman, and contrive every Artifice, which can deprive Justice of his Conviction? And, shall we see a Committee, that till now displayed so much Zeal in the Detection of our Enemies, favour this Prisoner in a Manner which, I am afraid, will prove injurious to the States? I cannot entertain that dishonourable Opinion of them. The Woman's Evidence being inadmissible before her Claim to legal Freedom be acknowledged, it is my Duty to protect her, and facilitate the Means for obtaining those Proofs, which, if favourable to her, will demonstrate Gilliland a consummate Villain, who was likewise guilty of forcibly enslaving that Woman, under the Pretence of a sham Bill of Sale.

The cowed Committee resolved that very day that "Flora the Negro Woman claimed by William Gilliland and who asserts she is free be directed to appear before this Committee with her Witnesses to Morrow afternoon, And that the said W^m^- Gilliland be also directed to furnish this Committee with the Names of his Witnesses that they may be Summoned to attend at the above Time"; moreover, Secretary Matthew Visscher promptly sent Gates a copy of the next resolution:

Whereas William Gilliland was last Saturday admitted to Bail by this Committee and whereas proof has this day been made before this Board of his farther Inimical Conduct

Resolved that the said William Gilliland be remanded to Prison there to remain untill the farther order of this Board.

This may have been the point at which Flora escaped to Massachusetts. Unhappily for the prisoner, no action was taken, nothing more was reported for weeks, and on January 15th, petitioning the Committee for the third time, the man complained hotly and at length of

> . . . the unprecedented severity of confining my person, . . . for only purchasing a free article introduced to me as part of the spoils of Burgoyne's army, . . . When its not thought any crime . . . to enter my house with an armed force, and carry away and detain from me my property . . . without even proving or attempting to prove . . . any right to or interest in the same.
>
> With equal impunity [*Gilliland ranted*] has General Gate's divested me of my remaining slaves by affording them encouragement to desert my service, and by harbouring them in his own house, and then refusing to restore them to me, till finally they are either secreted away or allowed an opportunity of making their escape, as is supposed out of the state, although I earnestly importuned him to return the young one to me, and that he would secure the old one, so as to prevent her escaping, . . . I much suspect she was suborned to give evidence against me, by the expectation given her of obtaining her freedom, the better to qualify her to swear away the life, liberty, or property of her lawful master, . . .[21]

On the 5th of February, 1778, with Gates busy at York as President of the Board of War, the Committee members thumbed through their list of prisoners and came across one of long standing. "Whereas this Committee," Matthew Visscher made painstaking note, "did some time write to the Council of Safety for their opinion and direction respecting the Case of W^m^ Gilliland, and not having received as yet any advice or direction on that Head," it was therefore resolved that the prisoner "be admitted to Bail upon his finding sufficient Surety in the Penal Sum of £1000 for his appearance and future good behavior at the next Court of Oyer and Terminer, or General Sessions of the Peace."

Gilliland's Lake Champlain estates were laid waste and still inaccessible, the tenants scattered on whose labors the owner had depended; he must look elsewhere for income. "The low estimation in which many people now hold money," he wrote James

[21] Watson, pp. 182–9.

Clinton on March 19th, "and the Consequential high prices everything sells at, points it out as a peculiarly proper Juncture to sell my Land near New Windsor [New York]." [His purchases had seemingly not been confined to the Champlain area.] He had "taken the liberty" to mention Clinton's name "for persons desireous to purchase to treat with for it" and hoped the General's more important affairs might "admit of some small attention to that here mentioned." Yet, even in the face of continued prosecution, it was the crops for which he claimed never to have been paid, his lost map of the lake, and above all the slaves that loomed with increasing urgency in Gilliland's mind. Incapable of finding any explanation in himself, he fixed upon General Gates as the chief source of his troubles, the handiest representative of a world united against him. To Gilliland, Gates was the one man who could right the wrongs done him.

I have never yet rece.[a] payment [*ran his Albany letter of June 19, 1778*] for my Crops at Lake Champlain, which you directed Col.[c] Hay to purchase from me; nor have you ever restored to me my original Map of Lake Champlain, which was very valuable to me, on account of several private Surveys of my own laid down thereon, as well as because it is the only original Map of that Lake now Extant—nor have I ever seen either of my Two female Slaves since you thought proper to take them from me. The many Losses which I before sustained by the present War, very nearly ruined me, but being by your means deprived of my remaining property puts a finishing hand to the Business, by which not only myself, but my motherless Children (for whom I have a much more tender feeling) are Exposed to many Sufferings. [*Elizabeth Phagan Gilliland had apparently died.*] I hope you won't take amiss my reminding you of these things, which I do from my persuasion of your not being Callous to the Calls of Justice and humanity, and which your Speedily giving me redress will Confirm me in the opinion of.

I have heard that you lent my Map to Gen.[l] Arnold, and that he pretends it was loss'd when he was Defeated and loss'd our Fleet; But I believe the Contrary can be easily proved, it having been seen with him since.

Still from Albany, he wrote again on August 31, 1778, enclosing a copy of the earlier letter ". . . which not having any answer

to, nor intimation of your having rece[d]. it, induces me to supose the original miscarried; and the Subject being of much Consequence to me, occasions my giving you the trouble of a second letter, entreating you to have Justice done me, and that I may not have reason, Thro you, to Complain of the most intollerable oppression of a flagrant Breach of Publick faith." And four and a half years later, on the 25th of February, 1783:

Having now a prospect of soon returning to reside on my Estate at Lake Champlain, I must request you will restore to me my Map of that Lake, [23] which I lent you in the Year 1776. having laid down thereon a number of private Surveys of my own making, it will be very usefull to me on my return there.

My Negro Slaves which you deprived me of in the Winter of 1777, will *there* be peculiarly usefull to me; my being deprived of their Services so long, has been highly injurious, and added considerably to my many other Losses since the Commencement of this War; I must now request you will take measures to have them speedily restored to me, and indemnify for the Loss I have sustained thro want of their Labor. they are at a place called Monson, about fifteen Miles East of Springfield, where I went for them, but the inhabitants there supported them in their refusal to return to my Service, aledging that you Had emancipated them. if you choose to send me an answer, you will be pleased to direct for me at New Burgh where I shall remain for a few days, or in Albany whither I purpose to return.

The General replied from the cantonment at New Windsor on the 26th. A more subdued, punctilious Gates since the Camden debacle, his struggle for vindication, and his final reinstatement, he was reasonable, almost conciliatory:

Should I have any Map of yours it is amongst my papers in Virginia, if, upon my return home I find it there, it shall be returned to you. I never deprived you of any Slave, or Slaves, and if any person, or persons, detain any Slave, or Slaves from you under the Idea of my having Eman-

[23] Exactly one year before [February 25, 1782], Gilliland had included the following item in a statement of wartime losses: "An Original Map of Lake Champlain, laid down from an actual Survey, finely embellished, with several private surveys thereon of my own making, said to be lost by Genl. Arnold when he was defeated by the Enemy on the Lake, Cost more than £30." *New York in the Revolution*, 1901 Supplement, pp. 177–8.

cipated them, they Act without authority. Unconscious of having treated you with the Smallest Injustice I remain

Y.r Hble Serv:t
HORATIO GATES

The end of the war in 1783 brought a new wave of settlers to the Champlain region; they all wanted land, and Gilliland had it to sell, yet this very demand for property meant his ruin. In a fine glow of patriotism New York State had abrogated those royal grants which had never been actually confirmed, and for much of the vast area he now claimed, William Gilliland had no patents. He once had ordered boldly that Alexander Colden, then Surveyor-General, return the fees charged for surveying the land Gilliland claimed "in the names of & for Reduced Officers & Soldiers." Such fees had been repaid to neighbors; furthermore, the "Expence of Surveying" was never charged to ex-soldiers elsewhere—or at least not in Quebec! Gilliland had it from "Mr. Colins, Surveyor of that Province, who never attempted to get any Fee from Reduced Officers, never ask'd it, never got it," and was reimbursed (or was to be) for "Actual outlayings" by the government. Why Colden was "better entitled than other Gentlemen holding the like office" was a "mystery too deep" for Gilliland to fathom. In the same belligerent letter,[23] he speaks of "dancing attendance for fifteen or Sixteen Months" to get a return from Colden; still others, perhaps, were never received at all. Whatever the technicality, an appeal to the Legislature[24] served no purpose after seventeen years; a large share of the land went to newcomers.

Then there was the negress Flora who had gone with her young companion—possibly a daughter—to her native Massachusetts. Antislavery feeling was on the rise in that state, and the

[23] Gilliland to Alexander Colden, November 20, 1766. Printed in the Society's *Collections* for 1935, pp. 207–210.

[24] Watson, pp. 191–6, as copied by Gilliland December 30, 1783, with the notation: "Original laid before the Legislature at Esopus in the month of March, . . ." See also Journal of the Senate of the State of New York, March 10, 1783.

Berkshire center of Great Barrington, close to the New York border on the main road from Albany to Boston, would have been a natural refuge. Living in the town were two men of influence: Thomas Ingersoll, hatter, and Moses Hopkins, storekeeper.[25] Ingersoll had been chosen constable and tax collector in 1776 and had risen to the rank of major in the Great Barrington Militia, while Hopkins served in the commissary department during the war and was later registrar of deeds, justice of the peace, and postmaster. Perhaps Major Ingersoll, originally of Westfield, was instrumental in sending the women on to the Springfield area where, Gilliland asserted, the people of the village of Monson defended the pair against him.

It seems probable that the declaration of human rights in the State Constitution of 1780 was not intended to do away with slavery; however, in view of this declaration, "a determination gradually grew up to *consider slavery as abolished* notwithstanding the failure of every attempt to destroy it by legislation."[26] In a number of cases, notably Judge Theodore Sedgwick's celebrated defense of "Mum Bet," former slaves were held to be free; former owners who sought to coerce them found themselves liable—in addition to civil damages—to fines and imprisonment for criminal breach of the peace. Hopkins and Ingersoll therefore were able to bring suit against Gilliland, who at last faced Flora—freed by Gates or not—in a Massachusetts instead of an Albany court. At the woman's insistence or on the strength of their standing as guardians of civic virtue, it was they who succeeded in adding a £696 judgment to the debts poor Gilliland, having given what land he had left to his children, was struggling to pay by reviving his business in New York City.

Jonathan Pearsee, "keeper of the goal in the city and county

[25] Charles J. Taylor, *History of Great Barrington, Massachusetts*, annotated and revised to 1922 (Great Barrington: 1928), pp. 241–3, 324, 352–3. Hopkins was a distant cousin of Ingersoll and the son of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, pastor in Great Barrington from 1743 to 1769 and a leader in antislavery circles.

[26] George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York: 1866), p. 210. See also the whole of Chapter IX, pp. 200–223.

of New York," certified that "William Gilliland was committed to the said goal on the 21st day of February, 1786, and continued in actual confinement until the 3d day of December, 1791, at the suit of Hopkins and Ingersoll."[27] Grimly the Massachusetts men asked payment; as stubbornly Gilliland withheld it. Hadn't he been assured that "a present of 40 or 50 dollars judiciously divided between Bristol [*the negress' husband or employer?*] and Flora" would have settled the matter acceptably? His quill pen drove harder across the sheet:

> Squire Fowler of Westfield[28] [*he informed his son*] was lately here to visit me, and advised me to settle the matter with the parties, so that I may be immediately liberated. I answered him, that if it was an advantage to Massachusetts at large, that my slaves should be emancipated, it should be at the charge of the people of that state, and not by the owner of such slaves—as I might thereby be totally ruined to gratify their iniquitous wishes: that I had only been 2,300 days here and was determined to remain here several days more, rather than sacrifice my property to my utter ruin, to gratify their caprices.[29]

Why was he freed in the end? Possibly because Hopkins and Ingersoll both lost interest. In 1791 they purchased the rights to Great Barrington's water power, dammed the Housatonic, and the following year built two mills. And in 1793 Thomas Ingersoll left for Canada, there to establish a large-scale settlement which might have been patterned after Willsboro itself.[30]

Returned home at last—ill in body, mind darkened, a stranger in his son-in-law's household—William Gilliland wandered out alone one February morning in 1796 and was found, some days later, frozen to death in the snow.

[27] Watson, p. 201.

[28] Hon. Samuel Fowler, distinguished citizen and patriot, member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety. John H. Lockwood, *Westfield and its Historic Influences 1669–1919* (Westfield: 1922), Vol. I, p. 425.

[29] Letter of July 22, 1791, quoted by Watson, pp. 81–2. Not in the Society's collection.

[30] The land the Canadian Council allotted to Ingersoll on March 23, 1793, is the present site of Ingersoll, Oxford County, Ontario. The grant was later rescinded by orders from London, whereupon the impoverished Ingersoll retired to the neighborhood of Toronto.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk. By Paul A. W. Wallace. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945. xiv + 648 pages, 4 maps. $5.00.)

While Franklin has been called the first civilized American, it would be unfair to the memory of Conrad Weiser to call him the first uncivilized American just because his outstanding, varied and thrilling career took him, not to cities and courts, but to mountain trails and Indian councils in far places. His life complements that of Franklin in many ways, for they were, in public affairs and diplomacy, each other's city and country cousins. Each, in the Colonial period, was primarily concerned with the affairs of Pennsylvania but each realized that he was also helping to build a nation. Weiser, in direct contact with the Iroquois, used his diplomacy and military abilities to keep peace on the frontier, while Franklin supported his efforts with aid from the provincial capital.

Weiser's picturesque and useful career has been the subject of at least nine published studies of some importance, of which Wallace's is by all odds the best. In fact, its marshalling of original sources (about a third of the volume is directly quoted source material, much of it hitherto unpublished) and its lively and attractive literary style make this one of the best of American biographies. Professor Wallace characterizes his hero thus:

"Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania's Indian ambassador, was one of the world's great originals, a hot-headed, true-hearted, whimsical Jack-of-all-trades; a farmer and the owner of a tannery, one of the founders of Reading, Pennsylvania, a colonel in active service during the French and Indian War, the first President Judge of Berks County, a faithful husband and the father of fourteen children, a monk at Ephrata, a pillar of the Lutheran Church, a promoter of Moravian missions, a rebel in New York and a prisoner in an Albany jail, a hymn-writer, traveler, statesman, linguist, diplomat, and woodsman. That is Conrad Weiser in a nutshell."

In spite of the author's wise determination to let the actors of his frontier drama tell their own story in their own words wherever possible, which gives the volume great value as a source book, his own lively humor and sprightly style relieves the volume, in spite of its length, of any hint of tediousness.

This is more the story of a period than of a person, a dramatic account of how one man, trusted alike by red men and white, kept peace on the frontier during one of the most turbulent epochs of our frontier history. As a study of Indian affairs it has not been surpassed, for it tells how Weiser, backed by James Logan and aided by the great Indian chief, Shickellamy, held the Iroquois to the English interest and held back the

inroads of the western Indians during much of the French and Indian War. The author does not hesitate to speak frankly and call names when necessary and as a result the Quakers, Sir William Johnson, and George Croghan, among others, emerge in a less heroic light than in earlier histories of the period.

The volume is handsomely printed and is adorned with four splendid maps which adequately explain the geography of the region, a most important feature in a book of this kind. The notes, relegated to the end of the book, identify the original sources and a splendid index makes the volume useful for quick reference.

New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

Men and Power. By Henry J. Taylor. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1946. 257 pages with index. $3.00.)

When men like General Eisenhower say they "have read it from cover to cover and find it not only fascinating but absolutely factual," Walter Lippmann calling it "a remarkable example of sharp observation and telling exactness," and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler referring to the author as "a scholar, a rare student of the world, a fine seeker of the truth," there is not much else to do than read the book, regardless of Gladwin Hill and one or two other critics, then formulate our own opinion and present a few highlights to the readers of this *Quarterly*.

Mr. Taylor starts off by saying that he found most established men, wherever encountered and whatever their nationality or station at birth, really distinguished and excelling in kindness and tact. That augurs well for success in his interviews and, as he was only supposed to go where there was trouble, his first mission had to do with Finland, and the telling of his experience in getting there fills a book: he finally did, however, though more dead than alive, and was a guest of President Rysto Ryti at the "Presidentin Linna," Finland's White House, for a week.

Here was a man, quiet, religious, possessed of conscience, intelligence, elected President of Finland not by any promises or threats, not even by any party, but by the choice of hundreds of electors who were selected by the people under the model constitution of this unique and unhappy land. And this man, four years later, was named a war criminal by the Soviet Union as an "enemy and threat" to the U.S.S.R. and was tried and convicted on charges of "aggression against the Soviet Union." Finland, caught between Germany and Russia, had the sympathy of all the Western World and was referred to by Winston Churchill as superb, sublime: "no more mournful spectacle could be presented than that this splendid northern race should be at last worn down and reduced to servitude worse than death by the dull force of overwhelming numbers."

How different Portugal! When Mr. Taylor visited Prime Minister Salazar in 1941 he was granted the first and only interview: Churchill had announced an Azores base for Britain—and was Germany mad! Salazar, however, went through with it, and the chapter on Salazar, Portugal, and Franco reveals much that helps for understanding a great deal that happened and is still happening on the Iberian Peninsula.

Interesting, too, are the comments on Syria and the Arabs, which latter are described as the "most gracefully courteous people in the world": the Pasha El Glaoui, living in one of the dream places, takes the author into a beautiful sunlit garden, flagged with white marble and decorated with fountains, a brilliantly tiled pool, surrounded by oranges, tangerines, and grapefruit trees; then the Pasha produces a large key, opens the door to his domicile and, after removing their shoes, they recline on magnificent low divans beside a table laden with almonds, sweet mint tea and honey cakes: after that the Pasha is ready to talk—and he does.

Next comes Italy, which Mr. Taylor says is "a good place to sing, a poor place to work," and coming as a surprise to this reviewer he says that "except for a few specialties Mussolini's industrialization of Italy was a resounding flop" and "from the standpoint of American self-interest in terms of loans, etc., it does not justify our multi-million-dollar reconstruction program there."

As to De Gaulle, Mr. Taylor seems to think he has an inferiority complex which would not let him come down to earth and realize that he could not speak forever about the Glories of France and do practically nothing about civil management: his first act on arriving in Paris was to regild the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, but there remained limits on how far gilt would go when people were destitute and needed food and fuel.

When Field Marshal Göring surrendered, he was first taken to Augsburg, a few miles north of Munich, where Mr. Taylor went to see him and found that, surprisingly enough, Göring thought he was going to be tortured and that in the end would be hanged or shot. In the interview which followed, Göring told just what was happening at Berchtesgaden —timed to the events in Hitler's bunker—and in the "Hitler's last days alive" chapter we find the Führer's first statement of his personal plans shaped by the events of April 22nd at 4:30 P.M.: "If Berlin falls," he says, "I will die here." Three days later he tells all in his bunker that this is the end, that he considers continuation of the war to be hopeless but that he does not want to leave Berlin: "I will remain in the bunker and accept the consequences." So ended Hitler and Germany as Hitler wanted it.

What about Russia? Mr. Taylor says, the "Moscow Government swallows itself," and *Men and Power* by Henry J. Taylor ends on that note. Defeat of Hitler has not destroyed the Big Man complex in Europe, "yet

if Russia continues in the same pattern that Hitler followed after 1933–35, the Soviet will discover that Europe in the long run treats no one conqueror better than another. Russia cannot digest and utilize the spoils of Europe." This would be a good thing for Russians to learn now and for Americans not to lose sight of.

New-York Historical Society GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

Songs of the Hudson Valley. Portfolio of three double-faced records collected and recorded by Frank Warner. (New York: Disc Company of America, 1946. $3.15.)

Our members will recall the delight with which we listened to the ballad singer Frank Warner at our Strawberry Festival in 1945 as he told us about his friendship with Mrs. Lena Bourne Fish, Yankee John Galusha and other native ballad singers from New York State and elsewhere and then sang, to the accompaniment of his mountain-made banjo, the delightful oldtime ballads which he had learned from them.

Folk songs are an important part of our social history and there are still, in our mountain, lake, river and canal towns, many oldtimers who remember the traditional ballads of our forefathers. We are fortunate that so many of our present-day students of American backgrounds are interested in folklore and folk song. Here in our own State we even have a flourishing folklore society, which publishes its own journal, and several successful collectors and singers of the old ballads are busy preserving them and making them available in modern recordings.

Frank Warner has just completed a set of three double-faced records of Hudson Valley songs, copies of which he has most generously presented to our library. They were secured from Mrs. Fish and Mr. Galusha and are sung in true ballad style by Mr. Warner with delightful accompaniment in the old manner on mandolin, guitar and banjo by Bess Lomax Hawes, Baldwin Hawes, Tom Glazer and Peter Seeger. They are the real thing,—not songs copied from published books but taken down from the oldtime singers themselves. They are issued in a portfolio which includes the history and text of each ballad, photographs of Mrs. Fish and Messrs. Galusha and Warner, and an appreciation of the latter by Carl Carmer.

The Ballad of Montcalm and Wolfe tells, in a delightful minor strain, the story of their famous battle at Quebec in 1759 as handed down to later generations by the ballad singers of our State. *The Ballad of Blue Mountain Lake* is a song of the loggers in northern New York who, on pay day, headed for a spree at Glens Falls. The Revolutionary song: *The Ballad of the British Soldier* is supposedly sung by a dying soldier from England who realized the impossibility of licking the Yankees and a sad and mournful song it is, as you might imagine. *The Days of Forty-*

Nine is a rollicking song of the discovery of gold in California, sung by a returned miner who did not strike it rich but who had happy memories of his adventure, nevertheless. *A Trip on the Erie* and the lively and better-known: *The Erie* are reminiscent of the tough "canawlers" who sang, fought and drank their way from Albany to Buffalo on the "E-ri-e" Canal. Our lower Hudson Valley towns were important seaports and whaling centers in the early days and so it is appropriate that this collection should include two fine sea songs. *The Bay of Biscay-O* and *The Jolly Roving Tar.*

It is a most interesting and varied collection, typical of many phases of our history, delightfully recorded and a charming addition to any record library. Let us hope that Frank Warner and his associates will record for us many more of the 200 old ballads which he has learned from the old singers up the river.

New-York Historical Society R. W. G. Vail

The Discovery of Florida and Its Discoverer Juan Ponce de León. By Edward W. Lawson, with a Foreword by George A. Zabriskie. (St. Augustine, Florida: The Author, 1946. 127 pages, illus., maps. $2.50.)

In last year's October *Quarterly* President Zabriskie uncovered "a very interesting controversy" that "has taken hold of Florida" over a claim "that Ponce de León landed at the mouth of the Miami River and was never within two hundred miles of St. Augustine!" Mr. Zabriskie's article demolished the first leg of that contention and now Mr. Lawson turns big guns on the other.

The only extant day-by-day account of Ponce's voyage is that published in 1601 by the official Spanish historian, Herrera, who doubtlessly based his own on one or more of three official reports, now lost, by (respectively) Ponce de León, his chief pilot, and the Treasurer-General's inspector *en voyage.* From Herrera's account, Mr. Lawson ingeniously reconstructs the voyage by a "dead reckoning" restricted to "the navigational practices of the period" but corrected by "present-day hydrographical knowledge of the waters sailed in." Since this reconstruction involves a number of plausible conjectures, the author's conclusions stand in need of independent corroboration. This Mr. Lawson supplies by showing how every conflicting evidence, when examined critically and corrected by present-day knowledge, moves "nearer to the position obtained by dead reckoning." Accordingly, Mr. Zabriskie, in his Foreword, is able to credit the author with "establishing the route conclusively by use of maps, charts, currents, soundings, latitudes, longitudes, astrolabes and navigational dead reckoning; thus laying at rest forever and a day all doubts of Ponce de León's first landing at the present site

of St. Augustine on April 3, 1513 and that he named that landing place 'La Florida.' "

The Discovery of Florida, however, is far more than a recondite determination of Ponce de León's first landing point. It opens with an account of the "Origin and Achievements of Florida's Discoverer"—his family background, his service in the Wars of Granada, on the second voyage of Columbus, as colonizer and administrator in Hayti, as explorer, governor, and chief justice of Puerto Rico, and his troubles with don Diego Columbus, "the Young Admiral"—all before he ever thought of the undiscovered lands to the north. In appreciation, the King issued a *cedula* enquiring what remuneration Ponce might prefer, "especially if he wishes to take any new settlement in his charge." This offer bore fruit a year later when Ferdinand granted Ponce "license and authority to go and discover and settle the islands of Benimi," and "the favor of the government and justice of it for all the days of thy life. . . ."

"Step by step [*to quote the Foreword*] we have the reasons for the voyage, the equipping and assembling of ships, embarking of personnel, sailing in search of new lands and don't forget—the Fountain of Youth." Having brought Ponce to his first landing at St. Augustine, Mr. Lawson traces in detail his coastal explorations and his homeward voyage, on which a portion of his squadron found Bimini but not the Fountain. "As a reward for his discoveries Juan was knighted and given a personal Coat of Arms" (reproduced in NYHS *Quarterly*, October 1945, p. 199), and henceforth was styled "The Adelantado don Juan Ponce de León, Governor of the Island of Bimini and Florida." Not till 1521, however, were "his personal and family affairs in such condition" as to warrant an expedition for possessing his new domains. From the several contemporary accounts, Mr. Lawson pieces together the story of this "First Attempt at European Settlement in Florida"—which failed bloodily, as Ponce's old companion-in-arms, Las Casas, said, "with an arrow. . . . And thus ended the Adelantado of Bimine with all the others."

Appended transcriptions and translations of the pertinent Spanish documents put future scholars permanently in the author's debt. It is hoped, however, that if and when he writes another controversial book he will serve the convenience of his readers by desisting from the regrettable current practice of relegating the footnotes to the end of the volume. And a critical evaluation of the 88 titles listed would have added greatly to the value of the 19-page bibliography, though a number of the sources are evaluated in the text.

Carefully documented, closely reasoned, and lucidly presented, Mr. Lawson's impressive chronicle leaves the burden of proof on those who disagree with his conclusions.

New-York Historical Society CHARLES E. BAKER

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

September 22–December 1: Special exhibition of one hundred etchings of New York views selected from THE JAMES BOYD COLLECTION, presented in memory of the donor's wife, Agnes Gray Boyd.

October 1: Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Curator of the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery, to speak on "Grateful America" at an evening preview of

October 2–January 12: AMERICAN PRESENTATION SILVER, first major exhibition of the fall season.

October 6–12: Exhibition honoring the College of the City of New York on its forthcoming 100th anniversary.

October 16–March 15: Second major exhibition, THE HISTORIC HUDSON IN DRAWINGS, PRINTS, AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

October 26: Afternoon preview of the

October 27–November 24: 33RD ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ALLIED ARTISTS OF AMERICA.

December 6: St. Nicholas Day Festival and private showing for members and their guests of the

December 7–January 5: CHRISTMAS EXHIBITION.

A CHRISTMAS GIFT SUGGESTION FROM THE EDITOR

Audubon Birds from the Original Water Colors in The New-York Historical Society. Audubon's text with notes by DONALD A. SHELLEY. (New York: Hastings House, 1946. 40 pages, illus., including 16 full-color reproductions. Hard covers, gift-boxed. $1.00.)

The Society's closing exhibition of Audubon's original water colors for *The Birds of America* inspired the publication of this beautiful gift book in the Hastings House Americana series. Sixteen of the loveliest drawings —three never before published—are reproduced in full color for the first time. Additional vignettes in black and white make this one of the most handsomely illustrated of gift books.

Mr. Shelley's biographical introduction and the generous quotations from Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* in the text which backs each color plate provide authentic background for scientific and historical understanding as well as for aesthetic appreciation. Tastefully bound and boxed, this compact little booklet is appropriately published in time to serve both as a souvenir of one of the Society's memorable exhibitions and as a charming Christmas gift. Copies are on sale at the Society's information desk.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

OIL portraits of Washington Irving (1783–1859) by James Hamilton Shegogue, 1836; Arnold Henry Guyot (?) (1807–84) by George P. A. Healy, 1879; an early officer of the American Geographical Society by Benjamin Franklin Reinhart, 1874; and by unidentified artists, Simon Bolivar (1783–1830), Christopher Columbus (?) (*c.* 1451–1506), and Dr. David Livingstone (1813–73). *Gift of the American Geographical Society.*

Photograph of Mrs. John James Audubon and 2 of Audubon's first home in America, Mill Grove, on the Perkiomen. *Gift of Miss Florence Audubon* (granddaughter of John James Audubon).

Licenses, commissions, and certificates issued, 1794–1823, to Cornelius Bogert (1775–1856), great-grandfather of the donor, and to Horatio Bogert (d. 1882), son of Cornelius Bogert and great-uncle of the donor. *Gift of Mr. Philip Milledoler Brett.*

Apple parer made near Delhi, New York, 1820–30. *Gift of Mr. George C. Cannon.*

Wedgwood pitcher inscribed in gold: *E. L. Hoyt/Jan^y. 20 1833. Gift of the estate of Mary Hoyt Hays Collins.*

Twelve drawings by Elizabeth K. Hawley, later Mrs. de Groot and mother of the donor, with her diploma from the Cooper Union Art School, first class, 1863–64. *Gift of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot.*

Pastel portrait by Hudson, 1854, of Mrs. James Dunlap (Eliza Bancker, 1791–1858), great-great-grandmother of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Walter Emery.*

Oil painting, "View of the Hudson from Tarrytown Heights," by Robert Havell (1793–1878). *Gift of Mr. Harry Peck Havell.*

Five speeches in Congress, 1916–21, of the Honorable Frederick C. Hicks (1872–1925); also photographs, books, and pamphlets relating to the U. S. Navy in World War I. *Gift of Mr. Frederick S. Hicks.*

Series of 12 water-color paintings by Max Klepper, 1903, depicting the route of the donor's four-horse coach "Liberty" between New York and Lakewood, N. J., and a cardboard poster, printed in colors, advertising the route of the coach. *Received from Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Oil portrait by Raimondo de Madrazo, 1899, of Mrs. Edward Lyman Short, mother of the donors. *Gift of Mrs. Charles H. Jones and Mr. Livingston L. Short.*

Oil portrait, possibly of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mr. Louis Kirschenbaum.*

Collection of 583 photographs of the Bronx and Manhattan taken by the donor's father, Charles E. Reynolds (1850–1928). *Gift of Mrs. George A. Kuhner.*

Water-color portrait of Mrs. David Barnard (Rebecca Davids, 1780?–1852), great-grandmother of the donor, by Philip Augustus Barnard (1810–94), son of the subject; miniatures on ivory, also by Philip Augustus Barnard, of David Barnard (1774–1833), great-grandfather of the donor and father of the artist, Louisa Barnard (later Mrs. Arthur L. Levy, 1807–87), grandmother of the donor and sister of the artist, and Arthur Lumley Levy (1811–88), grandfather of the donor and brother-in-law of the artist; miscellaneous silver, jewelry, and mementoes of the Levy family; *American Art Annual*, 1898–1945, Vols. 1–36, edited by the donor from its inception, and a testimonial volume presented to Miss Levy in 1919 on the 21st anniversary of its publication; collection of books on art and art catalogues, many by the donor; about 100 letters to the donor acknowledging her services in the field of art; family tree made by Miss Levy in 1891; family photographs and papers, and a volume of memorial resolutions from Ancient Chapter No. 1, R. A. M., upon the death of Joseph Levy in 1889. *Gift of Miss Florence N. Levy.*

Collection of books and periodicals relating to the Sons of the American Revolution, the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, and the Society of Colonial Wars. *Gift of Mr. A. H. Loomis.*

Group of 550 picture post cards, chiefly of New York City and State, and 300 post cards with holiday greetings. *Gift of Mr. Paul Maddans.*

Original copperplate of the "House Wren," engraved by Robert Havell (1793–1878) for John James Audubon's *Birds of America* (No. 83). *Gift of Mrs. Alice T. McLean.*

Oil portraits by Oliver Ingraham Lay, 1865, of Abraham Caulkins Morris (1822–54) and Mrs. Abraham Caulkins Morris (Catherine Ann Salisbury, 1830–1918), parents of the donor. *Gift of Miss Frances Morris.*

The National Amateur, official organ of the National Amateur Press Association, and the publications of several of its members. *Gift of the National Amateur Press Association.*

Over 10,000 examples of American wood engraving, 1850–80, extracted from such American periodicals as *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, and *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, including views of American cities, various kinds of transportation, sports, etc., by Winslow Homer, A. B. Frost, Thomas Nast, Frederic Remington, and others; also a lithograph stone with drawing in crayon by Louis Maurer (1832–1932) of the head of the famous race horse, Flora Temple. *Gift of Mr. Harry T. Peters.*

Daguerreotype of the donor's father, Ansel Leander Booth, and theatrical pictures of her husband and herself. *Gift of Mrs. James T. (Rachel Booth) Powers.*

Silver salt shaker, tortoise-shell necklace, and 2 fans. *Gift of Miss Dorothy Ritterband.*

Five diaries and various letters and documents of George A. Tread-

well, supplementing the donor's previous gift; also material relating to New York City and Yale University. *Gift of Mr. William A. Robbins.*

Marriage license of Patrick Dennis and Margaret White, signed by Governor William Tryon of New York, December 22, 1771, and a group of children's booklets. *Gift of Mrs. Thomas E. Satterthwaite.*

Collection of miscellaneous ephemera of historical interest. *Gift of Mr. Herman Schweinert.*

Two dolls, a doll's cape, and 7 early-19th-century children's books. *Gift of Mrs. Maria Banks Taylor.*

Oil portrait of DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828) by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mrs. G. Stanton Tiffany in memory of her husband, Colonel G. Stanton Tiffany.*

Songs of the Hudson Valley, album of phonograph recordings by the donor. *Gift of Mr. Frank M. Warner.*

Six New York views engraved and printed by Fenner, Sears, and Company, published at London in 1831 by I. T. Hinton, Simpkin, and Marshall. *Gift of the Honorable and Mrs. Alexander Wilbourne Weddell.*

Commission from King George III to Thomas Barclay (1753–1830), great-great-grandfather of the donors, as British agent in fulfilling the 4th and 5th articles of the Treaty of Ghent, signed and dated September 4, 1815, together with a large seal in a silver box engraved with the royal arms, all enclosed in a leather-covered box. *Gift of Mrs. Randolph Weld (Sylvia Caroline Parsons) and her brother, Dr. William Barclay Parsons III.*

Collection of material on amateur journalism, including *Fiction:* a magazine published in Brooklyn, 1901–3, by the donor and Anthony E. Wills. *Gift of Mr. Louis C. Wills.*

Sixty-seven photographs of the Seventh Photo Group of the Eighth Air Force, U. S. Army, showing German industrial and communication centers and the bomb damage done them, 1943–45. *Gift of Mr. Lucius Wilmerding.*

U. S. Marine Corps uniform. *Gift of Staff Sergeant Edward N. Wyant.*

Oil portrait of William McKinley (1843–1901), by Harry T. See, 1901; oil painting by Thomas Nast (1840–1902) depicting the "Departure of the 7th Regiment for the War, April 19, 1861"; Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail* (New York: 1897) illustrated by Frederic Remington, association copy with autographs of author and artist, and 7 other volumes of history and biography. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

FOUNDED 1804

HOURS

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Open daily except Sundays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.
Holidays: 1 to 5 P.M.

THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Open free to the public daily except Mondays,
from 1 to 5 P.M.
Saturdays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

The building is closed on New Year's Day, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, and during the month of August.

EGYPTIAN COLLECTIONS

The Egyptian Collections of The New-York Historical Society are on exhibition in The Brooklyn Museum, weekdays, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.: Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 5 P.M.